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DELPHI

DELPHI

BY

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

THIS work, which appeared in its Danish form in 1919, is in all essentials based on impressions and notes taken during a lengthy stay at Delphi in the spring of 1907. That I have not ventured to publish the book earlier is due to the fact that the publication of the Delphic finds was previously so defective and summary, that a comprehensive description of the remains which illustrate the history and art of Delphi was not possible, unless the author had himself taken part in the excavations, and had personal knowledge of the circumstances under which the finds were made. But in the years preceding the outbreak of the War, several important volumes of *Fouilles de Delphes* appeared, and in some cases of doubt Director Th. Homolle helped me with information and manuscript. There is still much that is uncertain and obscure in the topography and artistic history of Delphi, and therefore I have laid most stress on aesthetic appreciation, which has an effect and value apart from problems of detail. However, the time has now come to give to a wider public an idea of the valuable objects brought to light by the French excavations of this the second chief sanctuary of Greece.

I desire to thank M. Homolle for active assistance in the preparation of the book, and for having secured permission for me from M. de Boccard, the publisher of the work on

Delphi, to reproduce anything that I desired out of the standard publication, *Fouilles de Delphes*.

I have also to thank the directors of the Carlsberg and Ny Carlsberg Funds for pecuniary help in the production of *clichés*, and my Danish publishers for the courage they have shown in undertaking the publication. Finally, I must thank Professor Gardner for kindly consenting to introduce me to the English-speaking public.

FREDERIK POULSEN.

COPENHAGEN,
July 1920.

PREFACE

I HAVE much pleasure in introducing the present work to English readers. To archaeologists Dr. Poulsen needs no introduction: he is the keeper of the magnificent Ny Carlsberg Museum, presented by Mr. Jakobsen to the city of Copenhagen; and some of his works, such as his account of the origins of Greek art, have already made him a good reputation. But here he writes for a wider public in England and America.

There is still a great dearth of books in English on the recent growth of our knowledge of Ancient Greece in consequence of excavation. We have several works on prehistoric Greece, and on recent discoveries at Athens, but for information as to the German exploration of Olympia and the French exploration of Delphi and Delos we have to go abroad. The astounding richness of the discoveries at Delphi, in buildings, sculpture, and inscriptions, is only accessible to those who are not archaeologists in the little volume of M. Bourguet, excellent but summary. The official volumes on the site appear very slowly and at long intervals. Dr. Poulsen has been long familiar with the site and all its secrets. He writes with a complete mastery of all the materials. He gives us a careful survey of the place, and a full discussion of its buildings, reliefs, and statues, as well as of the Delphic mythology.

I hope that the book will instil into the minds of students a desire to visit Delphi, and into the minds of older classical scholars a perception how the realization of the facts of ancient life and art gives a man a fresher interest in Greek and Roman literature and history. Delphi preserves for us a contemporary record of, and commentary on, many of the great events of Greek history, the functions of the

Delphic Oracle, the growing worship of Apollo, the battles of Marathon and Plataea, the exploits of Phormio recorded by Thucydides, the great victory of Lysander over the Athenian fleet, the invasion of Laconia by Epaminondas and his rebuilding of Messene, the expedition of Alexander the Great, and the crushing of Macedon by Aemilius Paullus. It is as if there were now, say at Rome, a vast international cathedral, where there were set up, in trophy and inscription, memorials of Crécy and Bannockburn, Austerlitz and Sedan, the Crusades, Lepanto and Trafalgar, of the Independence of America and the uniting of Italy. In the sacred precinct of Apollo all such trophies were sacred, and no one dared to destroy them. Works of the greatest artists so abounded that, after Nero, as was said, had removed to Rome five hundred bronze statues, there still remained at Delphi, in the Antonine age, all the rich treasures of which Pausanias has made us a catalogue.

The excellent work of Professor Michaelis, *A Century of Archaeological Discovery*, has given a consecutive account of the activities of the scholars of all nations, English, French, German, American, Italian, Greek, in the recovery of what survives of the splendours of Ancient Greece and Rome. Work on the Athenian Acropolis has restored to us a brilliant picture of what it was like when the ravaging Persians broke into it in the days of Xerxes and Themistocles: work at Olympia has revealed to us the plan and the sculpture of the central shrine of all Greece, the temple of the Olympian Zeus, and the nature of the brilliant athletic festivals held in honour of the deity: but Delphi towers even above these sites, partly because more that is ancient has been preserved, partly because it is richer in inscriptions, which were cut not only on stelae, but also on the walls of buildings and the bases of statues. Another feature of the site was the full-size models of victorious chariots and their charioteers, of whom one survives in bronze, the only full-length bronze figure of fifth-century Greek art which we possess.

To a modern, Jerusalem may be a more sacred place than Delphi, but the aversion of the Jews to all plastic art and their neglect of records in marble has made the site to an archaeologist comparatively poor. The Greeks as naturally

proceeded to express their national triumphs in marble and bronze as we do in painting and poem: sculpture was in a special degree the art which belonged to them. In earlier times, down to the Peloponnesian War, it is to the Gods and Heroes that they ascribe the credit of their successes. In the trophy set up by Pheidias at Delphi in memory of Marathon, Apollo and Athena took the first place, and next to them the Heroes of the Attic tribes. Among the bronze figures only one mortal found a place, Miltiades, to whom Heaven had accorded the victory. In like manner, in the trophy erected by the people of Tegea when they had defeated the Spartans by the help of Epaminondas, the bronze images were of Apollo, Victory, Callisto and Arcas, and the other ancestral Heroes of the city. But the magnificent group set up by Lysander after Aegospotami was of more modern type, including portraits of many of his sea-captains, several of them of Ionian race. Of these great trophies, of course, little now remains except the bases with some inscriptions. But in regard to other features of the site we are more fortunate.

The Treasuries built by the cities of Greece and Greater Greece in the sacred precinct, to contain the sacred vessels and the offerings of their citizens, were numerous, and must have formed a chief feature of the site. At Olympia only foundations of such buildings remain, but at Delphi two, that of the Cnidians or Siphnians, and that of the Athenians, have been so far recovered that they have been almost completely restored, and the beautiful little building of the Siphnians, with a porch supported by Caryatid figures, is quite a gem of early Ionic architecture. But I need not attempt to enumerate the edifices of which Dr. Poulsen has furnished a minute and critical description. Freely using the plans and photographs published by the French explorers, he has made them vivid to the reader, and given a foretaste of the pleasure which every traveller must feel when he has climbed to the lofty plateau on which Delphi is built, nestling by the fountain Castalia at the foot of the higher slopes of Parnassus, whence for many centuries Apollo and the Muses dominated the poetry of the world. As long as Greece was really alive, it was from Delphi that

the statesmen and magnates of all cities expected directions as to the course to be followed in peace or war, as to the foundation of colonies and the formation of alliances. And we must in gratitude remember that it was from Delphi that the wisest of the Greeks, Socrates, in no spirit of irony, but with religious respect, received the commission which led him to martyrdom, but set going in the world philosophy and reasoned morality.

It is a great advantage that the work of a scholar should be translated by a scholar. I do not know Danish; but any careful reader can see that the version of Mr. Richards is sympathetic and accurate.

P. GARDNER.

OXFORD,
May 1920.

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I

APOLLO'S CONQUEST OF DELPHI

APOLLO is a wandering god, and his sanctuaries are widespread. When Greek religion became reflective, it sought to systematize his wanderings, and made him stay a month at each place, but the time was not sufficient, so numerous were the seats of his cult.

While the question of the priority of individual sanctuaries is not easy of solution, there is no doubt that Apollo is a foreign, non-Greek god.[1] In the oldest Greek poem, the *Iliad*, he is the enemy of the Greeks, but on the side of the Trojans and the friend and ally of the Asiatics. He drives back the brave Diomede, he is the cause of the death of Patroclus, and Achilles has a presentiment that he will bring about his own death, and calls him "the most destructive of all gods" (xxii. 15). In the first book of the *Iliad* we see Apollo striding down from Olympus to send pestiferous arrows against the Greeks, who have ill-treated his priest, and it is said of him that he "goes forth like night," a comparison which one can understand only when one has experienced the sudden and uncanny nightfall of Southern lands. While Chryses, priest of Apollo, can name a whole series of sanctuaries of Apollo situated in Asia Minor, his temple at Delphi and its great riches are only described in the ninth book of the *Iliad*, which seems to be one of the latest parts of the poem, and Delphi and Delos only became prominent in the latest part of the *Iliad*, the Catalogue of the Ships, and in the *Odyssey*.

Among Apollo's cult-names in the *Iliad*, "Smintheus" is

[1] Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xxxviii (1903), 575; idem, *Greek Historical Writing and Apollon*, Oxford, 1908.

not Greek, and "Lykegenes" can mean nothing else but "he who is born in Lycia."[1] The old grammarians understood that,[2] but the poets, and probably simple folk too, in the course of time forgot the derivation and interpreted it as meaning "son of the wolf."[3] All traces point in the direction of Lycia, and be it noticed, not the Lycia in the Troad, as Alexandrian scholars thought,[4] but the barbarian Lycia on the south coast of Asia Minor. In this non-Greek land Apollo has his most important sanctuaries, Xanthus and Patara; here his mother Leto is at home, and we can follow the spread of her cult to the south-west of Asia Minor and the opposite coast of Rhodes. In an Argive inscription she is expressly called "the Asiatic," and her name in its oldest form, "Lato," is naturally derived from the Lycian word for woman, "Lada." It is also a genuine Lycian feature, that Apollo in old poems, like the *Hymn to Hermes* and the *Shield of Heracles*, is always called Letoides, by the mother's name only, for in Lycia the whole arrangement of the community was matriarchal: "sons are called after their mothers, and not after their fathers," as Herodotus says.[5] Even during the wanderings to Greek lands the same connexion is preserved—everywhere Leto is worshipped along with her children; and at Delos the oldest hymns, written according to tradition by the Lycian bard Olen of Xanthus—elsewhere named as the first soothsayer at Delphi—treat of the circumstances under which Leto brought her son into the world.[6]

But in Hellas Apollo could not continue to be "the son of the woman." The Greeks gave him Zeus himself as father. But in the Homeric hymns to Apollo we constantly notice how strange this Lycian is in the circle of the Olympian gods: when he enters the hall they all run away; Leto alone is undisturbed, and leads him to a seat; and only when Zeus has acknowledged him as his son, by offering him nectar, do the other gods venture forward with their greeting. Apollo is adopted like Dionysus.

[1] *Iliad*, iv. 101, 119. [2] Hesychius, s.v., *Etymologicum Magnum*, 767, 54.
[3] Aesch., *Sept.*, 145 (Wilamowitz); Paus., x. 14, 7.
[4] Lehrs, *Aristarchus*, 3rd ed., 229; Sch. to *Iliad*, iv. 101; Steph. Byz., s.v. Tegyra.
[5] Hdt., i. 173.
[6] Idem, iv. 35; Callimachus, iv. 305: cp. Paus., i. 18, 5, viii. 21, 3, x. 5, 8.

Behind the myth lies the historical fact that his religion is not Hellenic. And that it is Asia from which he comes is shown in particular by the peculiar connexion between Apollo and the number seven, sacred in Babylonia of old, which accompanied him in his journey westwards.[1] The religion of Apollo came to the Greek people from without, and violently appropriated a series of sanctuaries, whose previous occupiers were forced to resign the front rank at sacrifices and festivals[2]; but Apollo never won a complete victory. The old gods sometimes continued to live in the shade, and sometimes the nature of Apollo himself was modified under the influence of the persistent cults. How this development proceeded in his chief sanctuary at Delphi, how the original shepherd-god, or god of healing and punishment, who can both send diseases on men and cure them, became the oracle-god of Delphi, the powerful purifier, chastiser, and counsellor, we can still show in broad outline, and what follows will deal with this subject.

Pausanias, in the tenth book of his *Description of Greece*, written in the second century A.D., before he goes on to describe the monuments of Delphi, gives a brief outline of the history of the Oracle, based on old poetry and the local tradition of the place. He tells us that in the earliest times the Oracle was dedicated to Ge or Gaia, the goddess of earth, and the first prophetess was the mountain-nymph Daphnis. Next he quotes an epic poem, according to which Ge shared the oracle with Poseidon. Later she resigned it to the goddess of justice, Themis, and from her Apollo received it as a gift, while Poseidon, by way of compensation, obtained the island of Calauria. Aeschylus knows this divine succession, when in the beginning of the *Eumenides* he makes the prophetess of the tripod say, "First of gods I honour with this prayer Gaia, the primeval prophetess; after her Themis, who, as the story runs, occupied the oracle of her mother as next in succession." Between Themis and Apollo Aeschylus inserts "another child of earth, the Titaness Phoebe," from whom Apollo derived his title Phoebus, when he left the sacred lake and cliff of

[1] Martin P. Nilsson, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiv (1911), 434.
[2] Idem, *Griechische Feste*, 101.

Delos, landed on the coast of Attica, and penetrated "to this land and the divine seats of Parnassus." Up there as soothsayer he becomes the proclaimer of the will of Father Zeus.

Plutarch and Diodorus [1] describe in more detail how the inspiring vapours which arose from the cleft in the rock were originally discovered, and the spot dedicated to Ge. The earth-goddess had also other oracles; at Olympia she was honoured as the primeval prophetess; and also in two towns of Achaia, at Helice and Aegae, she gave her answers through a prophetess, who, as at Delphi, descended into a cavern, was stupefied by cold vapours, and gave enigmatical warnings.

By this we see clearly that the Delphian Oracle is prior to Apollo and obtained its character as a sanctuary of the earth-goddess. This form of the cult of Ge is strictly limited, to be found only in a few towns on both sides of the Corinthian Gulf, just in the seismic centre of Greece. This earth-goddess has, as it were, two aspects: she is the universal mother, the all-nourishing sustainer of the living, and she is the ruler of the dead and the nether world, who encloses the dead in her bosom, from which she sends dreams and warnings, and where she hatched the worst enemies of the gods, the Titans and the Giants.[2] In the same manner the goddess of night is also the mother of dreams, and we find in some ancient authors the idea expressed that it was Night who first of all gave oracular responses at Delphi.[3] How important the primitive cult of Ge was for the new religion is best seen by comparing Apollo of Delphi with Apollo of Delos. In the latter place there is not the least trace of oracular functions combined with the worship of Apollo. But the earth-goddess was not excluded from the list of Delphic gods. Even in late antiquity she had her special sanctuary beneath Apollo's towering temple. That we know from Plutarch,[4] who describes how he and his friends, during a stay at Delphi, walked conversing on the south side of the temple of Apollo

[1] Diodorus, xvi. 26. [2] A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, Leipzig, 1905.
[3] Rev. T. Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle*, Oxford, 1918, 8 and note.
[4] *De Pythiae oraculis*, 17.

and sat down upon the high step, from which they could see "the sanctuary and pool of Ge. For here was a shrine of the Muses, where the spring gushed out, and the Muses were the watchers of the spring and of the sanctuary of Ge."

In the course of the French excavations this sanctuary was discovered, south of the foundation wall of the temple, on a terrace between it and the so-called Pelasgic wall. It is a low-lying, very old limestone building, ending in an apse, which reminds one of similar apsidal structures underneath the famous temple of Aphaia in Aegina and on the Acropolis of Athens.[1] In historic times the building lay two metres under the surrounding level, and was thus a kind of crypt-temple. Close by can be seen the now dried-up bed of the old spring, which, enclosed by squared stone, burst forth from the south side of the temple, the fountain of prophecy, whose spring is under the holy of holies in Apollo's temple—the primitive fountain which made Delphi holy even in prehistoric times. On the terrace of Ge very early finds came to light, sherds and terra-cottas of the Mycenean period were collected, and even in the fifth century B.C. there were found here remains of the great sacrificial grove, which the first Cretans who arrived here, according to the description in the *Hymn to Apollo*, found full of sacred tripods. In its shade Hermes hides in the *Ion* of Euripides.

According to Aeschylus, Pausanias, and Delphic hymns found on stone tablets during the French excavations,[2] Ge-Themis voluntarily resigned the oracle to Apollo, and the same is stated of Poseidon in a hymn by a Corinthian bard, Aristonoos, also found at Delphi.[3] But the legends themselves speak of severe conflicts,[4] and the silence of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* about the older generation of gods would be inexplicable if the new religion had peaceably replaced the old cults. In the legends Apollo's first conflict is with the dragon that watches the Oracle—the serpent, rightly described by Euripides as earth's strong monster.[5] In the *Hymn to Apollo* the dragon is female,

[1] Pfuhl, *Mitteilungen des athenischen Instituts*, 1915, 371.
[2] *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1893, 566.
[3] O. Crusius, *Die delphischen Hymnen*, 4.
[4] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, i. 4. [5] *Iph. Taur.*, 1247.

evidently a personification of Ge herself, later most frequently male; but there is to be noticed a certain vacillation in the learned poets from Callimachus to Nonnus, for at one time the name of the dragon is given as Delphyne, and at another as Delphynes. Here we must recollect that it was a pair of gods, Ge and Poseidon, that Apollo drove away, so that it was obvious to put in the foreground at the actual fight for the spring the male part-owner. We even find in oracular verse and late authors [1] the conception of a robber whom Apollo killed, or "a robber named the Dragon." In the *Hymn to Apollo* the monster is described as hostile to the people living near, in that it killed them and their cattle, and during the creature's death-agony Apollo scorns it and declares himself the liberator of humanity. A comical compromise between the battle and the peaceful resignation is found in Euripides.[2] When Apollo has driven Ge-Themis from the sacred ground, the vanquished earth-goddess engenders dark dream-phantoms—one expects to hear as punishment of Apollo, but by an evasion it runs "to presage the future to mortals."

In connexion with the fall of the dragon it is necessary to discuss the oldest name of the place, Pytho, the exclusive appellation in the Homeric poems and Hesiod.[3] It stood for the whole region at the foot of Parnassus, while the name Delphi was applied only to the town and sanctuary. Even in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, Pytho is derived from the Greek word "to rot," and is referred to the smell of putrefaction from the dragon's body. Modern philologists have approved this etymology, in so far as they compare it with Faulhorn, the name of a mountain in the Bernese Oberland.[4] This slaying of the dragon, which became a symbol of the god's victory over the powers of darkness, was celebrated in legends and plastic art, and in dramatic exhibitions at Delphi, and later also at the other seats of Apollo's worship. It is the slaying of the dragon which is the central part of what might be called the national anthem of Delphi (*νόμος Πυθικός*), composed by Sakadas

[1] Paus., x. 6, 7; Strabo, 422.
[2] *Iph. Taur.*, 1259.
[3] *Iliad*, ii. 519, ix. 405; *Odyssey*, viii. 80; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 499.
[4] A. Mommsen, *Delphika*, 13; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklop.*, s.v. Delphoi, 2525.

of Argos[1]; this was executed chiefly on the flute, but now and then harp-playing and trumpet flourishes came in, and enforced the sounds and tunes. First, the notes of the flute represented Apollo's search for his opponent, then his challenging address to the dragon; next came the battle—a trumpet-blast represented the stretching of the god's bow and the whistling of his arrows, while the flute imitated the grinding of the monster's teeth and his death-screech. In the fourth section Apollo's victory was accomplished; in the fifth and last he performed the dance of victory.

In a still more remarkable way the death of the dragon was represented at Delphi in a kind of pantomime, the so-called Stepterion, which took place on a paved threshing-floor, which is thought to have been found in the middle of the Temenos in front of the Stoa of the Athenians. Though we have several descriptions of this strange ceremony, and for certain details a parallel in the festival of Isis at the Phocian town of Tithorea,[2] much in the *mise-en-scène* is quite uncertain to us. The intention was to reproduce the fight of Apollo with the dragon, and his flight after its death to the vale of Tempe, where, according to the legend, he had to go to purify himself of blood-guiltiness. But the pantomime showed a noble Delphian boy, accompanied by companions of his own age, and by a troop of holy women, who in profound silence marched on to the festal ground, and set fire to a wooden shed built to resemble a royal palace; after having upset in the flames a board of the shed, the whole troop ran away without looking back. Later the boy was seen "wandering up and down, going as an exile to Tempe, purging himself at an altar by a costly sacrifice, returning with his comrades by the sacred way with laurel wreath on his hair, and approaching Delphi after having on the road at the 'Town of the Meal' partaken of a festal meal." It is especially mysterious how a representation of a royal palace could pass for the dwelling of a dragon, and what is intended by the setting on fire and the overturned board. In this

[1] Pollux, iv. 84; cp. Paus., ii. 22, 8; and Strabo, 421.

[2] Plutarch, *Quaest. graec.*, 293; *De defectu oracul.*, 418*a*; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, iii. 1; Paus., x. 31, 14; cp. Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 150 ff.

case, as the agreement with Tithorea shows, there must be presumed to be an ancient Phocian religious ceremony, adopted without being understood by the priesthoods of both Apollo and Isis, and therefore as mysterious to the ancients as to us. The procession of the laurel-wreathed youths, however, with a youthful Apollo as leader, was imitated by the Thebans, who every ninth year sent just such a holy band of children from the temple of Ismenian Apollo to the god's sanctuary at Delphi.

It is characteristic that the old vanquished gods are not named in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*—that might offend the new master; but neither can one venture to ridicule them, for no one could know whether their power was completely broken. However, the assimilation and subordination of the worship of the old gods, that is the conclusion of peace, must have taken place before the *Hymn to Apollo* was written, which, by reason of its silence as to the relation of Phocis to the Oracle and its intimation of the supremacy of Thessaly in Delphi, has been dated by specialists shortly after the First Sacred War—that is, soon after 580 B.C.[1] Only in Aeschylus is it made clear that a compromise has been entered on, by which Ge has her sanctuary at the foot of the temple of Apollo, but still next the spring, through the breath of which she had spoken for centuries. The same sort of thing happened with the saints of the Catholic Church, who supersede the heathen gods that are most tenacious of life, but are marked by their peculiarities and often bear their names, with a slight alteration that can easily be detected—as, for instance, St. Artemidos at Ephesus, who as helper in childbirth took over the name and function of Artemis "Kourotrophos."[2] Or, as in actual life, dethroned kings must hand over the γέρα of power, the substantial advantages, and only retain the name and a shadow of power, like the Basileus in ancient Athens, the Rex at Rome, and the Son of Heaven in modern China; so Ge was obliged to concede her chief share in the sacrifices and her proprietary right over the

[1] Wilamowitz, *Ilias*, 441; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, i. 2, 37.

[2] J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, Cambridge, 1910, 44; various other examples named by Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle*, 41, note 3.

sacred domains of Delphi to the new god and master, but retained her sanctuary, and was venerated as before.

In the *Hymn to Apollo* the god gives his oracular answers from a laurel-tree (396). On this point Euripides says that a laurel-tree stood by the side of the cavern of Ge, before Apollo took possession of the place.[1] Hence the legend of Daphnis as the first prophetess and of Apollo's pursuit of Daphne, the personification of the laurel-tree, who during her flight prayed to her mother, Ge, and disappeared in a cleft of the earth, from which a laurel-tree shot up. This is how the later poets explained away the conflict for Delphi.[2] But the laurel remained the tree of the Oracle after Apollo's arrival, stood near the tripod, and was shaken by the priestess before she gave her response.[3] The laurel-tree at Delphi is what the oak was at the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona—the primeval sacred symbol, the tree whose boughs were filled with all the mystery of the place. Plutarch, who was himself an official at Delphi, describes[4] how the priestess, before she descended into the cavern, stupefied herself with the fumes of the burnt laurel. In the same manner many uncivilized peoples to-day employ cedar-wood, and their ecstasy is described as corresponding with that of the Pythia. Thus we understand the laurel's purifying efficacy in the Delphian ritual; since it could deliver the Pythia from the burden of earth and lift her soul to divine frenzy, its magic efficacy was proved.

The transition from Ge to Themis, whom Aeschylus and later Pausanias interpolate into the dynasty, is uninteresting. Themis, the venerable goddess of law and order, was certainly assimilated to Ge[5] by Attic cult in the first instance—"both are one form with many names," says Aeschylus,[6] and thus became an expression of the regular succession of the seasons and the fixed law of order in the life of earth.

Poseidon's form is far more important in the Delphian succession. As consort of Ge, he was worshipped in the seismic centre about the Corinthian Gulf, already mentioned, especially in Aegae and Helice, not as the sea-god,

[1] *Iph. Taur.*, 1246. [2] Ovid, *Metam.*, i. 452.
[3] Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 213, and Scholia.
[4] *De E apud Delphos*, 2; *De Pythiae oraculis*, 6.
[5] *C.I.A.*, iii, 3, 350; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iii. 309.
[6] Aesch., *P.V.*, 209: cp. *Eum.*, 2.

but as lord of moisture, springs, and streams, which percolate through the earth and make it fruitful. As the lover of Earth he is united in Arcadia with Demeter, the goddess of the fruitful soil. Poseidon makes the blessed water spring forth by a thrust of his trident; he runs past in the whirling floods, and smiles from the silent lakes of the mountains; he bears the earth in his strong arms out into the distant sea, but he works and sounds far nearer in the bowels of the earth, which he penetrates like a mole. That is why in many places moles were offered to him, especially during earthquakes. For as the mole scatters the earth's upper crust, so does Poseidon when he is wroth, and in such trouble he alone can be of assistance.[1] In such figures the Hellenes dreamed and wrote poems about the strong forces, creative or destructive, in the dark interior of the earth; up here in the mountains of Phocis legend and poetry flourished long before Apollo inherited it all—a contemplative and profound poetry about earth's fullness and perils. It is not for nothing that even in our own time in this neighbourhood, at the adjacent town of Arachova, which has the loneliness of the mountain-side and its long winter brooding over it, we find a modern Greek folk-song of almost Northern profundity and melancholy.

Poseidon is the god of defeats; he is overcome by Apollo at Delphi as by Athena on the Acropolis of Athens, by Hera at Argos, by Zeus at Aegina, and by Dionysos at Naxos.[2] As compensation he received at Delphi an altar in the vestibule of Apollo's temple, and thereby the title "Pronaos."[3] His name is invoked by the prophetess in Aeschylus, along with the local river-god Pleistus,[4] and one of the Delphian months was named after Poseidon "the porter." He had his annual festival shortly before the winter solstice, and the Delphian noble family of the Labyadai honoured him as their tribal god.[5]

Of the actual arrival of the cult of Apollo and its introduction into Delphi there are two versions in the *Hymn to*

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 7, 4; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1882, 454.
[2] Plutarch, *Quaestiones conviv.*, ix. 6 (741*a*).
[3] Hesych., s.v. Paus. (x. 24, 4) says that the altar was in the temple cella.
[4] *Eum.*, 27.
[5] Gruppe, *Handbuch der Mythologie*, 242, n. 3; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1895, 5.

Apollo, which in no way exclude one another, but point to two different historical strata. First, the god's arrival by the land road is described; from Olympus, the castle of the gods, he passes through Pieria and Thessaly, where his famous place of worship at Iolcus is named, goes over to the island of Euboea, and thence by the Euripus to Boeotia, whose most important sanctuaries of Apollo are enumerated. Here he thinks of resting permanently, but the spring-nymph Telphusa entices him to climb over the mountains, where in Crisa, under snow-clad Parnassus, he finds an abiding home, and causes the heroes Trophonios and Agamedes, assisted by the people of the country, to lay the foundation of his temple, so rich in traditions. But before he can dwell securely there he must first lay the dragon low, and now follows a description of the birth of the dragon and the fight with him.

This form of the legend unites Apollo with the Olympian race of gods, and must be thought of as shaped to form part of the Hellenic common religion, whose genesis we can trace in the Homeric poems. Perhaps a real historical fact lies behind it—the Dorian migrations from Thessaly over Hellas, which took place at the conclusion of the second millennium B.C., and in the course of which not only were the Mycenean citadels laid in ruins, but certainly many old cults had to give way to new ones. To the fact that the Dorians brought Apollo with them, after having earlier received him from Asia Minor, points the circumstance that Arcadia, the only country not touched by their migrations, had next to no sanctuaries of Apollo. Moreover, Pindar sings of Apollo as the leader of the Dorian wanderings, who led the Dorians to Lacedaemon, Argos, and Pylos.[1]

In the course of time Apollo's wandering from the north to Delphi is poetically embellished. He comes there from the land of the Hyperboreans,[2] the country in the far north with the light nights and the singing white swans on the shores of Oceanus, the land of piety and purity which Apollo loved, and poetry and painting vied with each other in describing.[3] Thence the god, enticed by the songs of the

[1] *Pyth.*, v. 69. [2] Hdt., iv. 32, 33.
[3] Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*, 242.

Delphians, passes in spring, when the swallows twitter, and the cicalas sing, and his swans follow him on the journey.[1] It was in memory of this expedition of the god that a procession of youths—which reminds us of the children's crusade in the Middle Ages—every ninth year went from the valley of Tempe, where they had sacrificed and decked themselves with laurels, a journey of several days to Delphi.[2] Every year Apollo's return to Delphi was celebrated by a spring festival, the date of which, when fixed, settled the whole Delphian festal year. This was the Theophania. Next month the Theoxenia were held, during which Apollo invited the Greek gods to be his guests at Delphi. Then took place the Pythian festival proper, at which the dragon-hymn was performed, and every fourth year games were celebrated with the participation of all Hellas. At the great Pythia one of the two bowls which Croesus had presented, that of silver which stood at the corner of the Pronaos and held 600 amphorae (16,000 litres), was filled with choice wine, and the god was solemnly bidden welcome.[3] Then mention was made of the Lydian king who, as a reward for his good deeds, had after his death been carried away by Apollo to the land of the Hyperboreans; in no wise had the god failed his friends, as his fate here on earth might make men suppose, but had rewarded him with bliss hereafter on account of his piety and generosity, that others too, princes and rich men, should not hesitate to give Apollo great gifts.[4]

But after founding and securing the temple, Apollo had to think of giving his sanctuary priests and temple-servants, and how he succeeded is also described in the *Hymn to Apollo* (388 ff.)[5]: "Far out on the wine-dark sea Apollo from his holy Pytho sees a ship from Minos' holy city Cnossus with Cretan men on board, and suddenly changes himself into the shape of a dolphin in the sea. From the surface of the sea the dolphin leaps on board the ship, which then is driven by the south wind past the cliffs of

[1] Alcaeus, fr. 2 (Bergk). [2] Nilsson, *Archäologisch. Jahrbuch*, xxxi, 1916, 310.
[3] Hdt., i. 51.
[4] Bacchylides, Ode 3: cp. Pindar, *Pyth.*, x. 29; *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, viii. 69, x. 152.
[5] W. Aly, *Der kretische Apollokult*, Leipzig, 1908; L. Malten, *Berliner phil. Woch.*, 1910, 332.

Taenarum and along the west coast of the Peloponnese, where the west wind seizes it and forces it towards the east and the sun into the bay by grape-laden Crisa. There the ship stuck in the sand, but out leapt Apollo and transformed himself, though it was midday, into a shining star, from which sparks flew and whose brightness reached to heaven. Between the sacred tripods he entered his sanctuary and lit a fire upon the altar. But all Crisa was illuminated by the brightness of the fire, so that its wives and fair-girdled young girls cried out with terror. Again the god transforms himself into a fair swain with long loose locks on his broad shoulders, and quick as thought goes down and addresses the strangers, bids them mount up and become the priests of his sanctuary. They obey him, and dancing and singing the holy paean they go up to Pytho, and Apollo with his lyre precedes them. But when the men stand under the slope of Parnassus, they are seized with alarm. The land is not rich. How shall they sustain life? Smiling, Apollo pacifies them; never shall the sacrificial knife have rest so long as the races of men last."

The poetry of this lay is so pretty that one is sorry to pass to a sober historical analysis. The hymn does not say that the religion of Apollo itself comes from Crete, and no discussion is needed on that point, but that the priesthood, and along with them the ritual, came by way of the sea from the island of Minos. In Crete itself the cults of Apollo point to connexion with Delphi: at the chief temple of Gortyna, for example, Apollo is worshipped by the title Pythios as early as the seventh century B.C., and the immigration of the Dorians into Crete seems in this case also to have caused the victorious march of the god through the island. But at Cnossus Apollo is worshipped under the title Delphinios, and this dolphin-god is combined with a dolphin-goddess, Dictynna, the patroness of fishermen and fishing-nets. The idea of a dolphin-god cannot have been conceived in a continental sanctuary like Delphi, even though we find dolphins as emblem on the Delphian coins from the archaic period.[1] It must have come from the islands, and we naturally think of a seafaring nation like

[1] Head, *Historia nummorum*, 288; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1896, vol. 20, plates xxv–xxvi.

the Cretans, in whose chief towns the dolphin-god is married to a dolphin-goddess, and is probably prior to Apollo, with whom he is identified in historic times. There seems to have been interaction between the Delphian Apollo and the Cnossian Delphinios, between their names and their sphere of action, which can be traced in both places. And it is this dolphin-god, not Apollo himself, who came from Crete to Delphi and may have enriched the cult of Apollo with details from the highly developed Cretan religious ceremonial.[1] The actual name of Delphi is certainly not derived from dolphin, but formed from the stem " delph," meaning " hollow." But this original name for the hollow mountain-cauldron of Delphi may later in the popular consciousness have been coupled with the name of dolphin, " the sea-pig."

In the Delphian ritual and legendary lore there is a part which points to a strong influence from Crete. Thus, according to Plutarch, the first man who detected the Oracle's inspiring effect was Koretas, a name which reminds us of the Cretan priesthood, the Kouretes. Furthermore, Plutarch reports [2] that it was not the shepherd Koretas himself but his goats who found the Oracle, and Diodorus [3] expressly states how goats were employed later in the cult of Delphi. Before the priestess took her seat upon the tripod, cold water was poured over the head of a goat. If the animal trembled in every limb, it was a sign that the god's ears were open ; if it stood unmoved or only quivered in the head, the god was averse to being consulted, and the priestess desisted from inquiry. Similar customs of getting warning by throwing water over goats or pouring it into their nostrils are known from many primitive peoples,[4] so that it is possibly a phenomenon common to religions. But it is also natural to combine the Delphian god with the Cretan worship of the goat, which finds its best-known expression in the goat Amaltheia. The Cretan town Elyros had, like Delphi, the Cretan goat—the wild goat of the mountains, called by modern Greeks Agrimi—on its coins, and set up a bronze goat in Delphi as a memorial of Apollo's stay

[1] Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, s.v. Delphoi, 2527 and 2542.
[2] Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 42, 46, 49.
[3] Diodorus, xvi. 26.
[4] Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. 237.

with the Cretan purifying priest Karmanor, after he had killed the dragon. The cult of the goat spread from Crete to the Greek islands Naxos and Delos; at the latter place a whole altar was constructed of horns from the slaughtered goats.[1]

More important is the probable origin in Crete of the oldest reckoning of the calendar at Delphi. It is founded on a lunar year, whose 355 days necessitate an intercalary month every third, fifth, and eighth year.[2] The intercalary month of the eighth year was especially holy, and in it the great Pythian games were celebrated until 582 B.C., when the Delphian priesthood, from regard to the Olympian games and the Panathenaea at Athens, altered the cycle of eight years, or, according to Greek reckoning, nine, to a cycle of five (Pentaeteris), in reality a period of four years, in whose third year the great Pythia were held. But even after their adhesion to this Panhellenic calendar the Delphians continued to employ their old local one in many cases—at the production of the Stepterion and the laurel procession of youths from Thebes, at the collection of temple tithes for Delphi in Athens and probably elsewhere, in the ordering of the sacred procession from Tempe to Delphi, and in the determination that a murderer should be exiled for eight years, and only in the ninth might return with laurel in his hands, as a token that Apollo had now finally purified him. On the basis of the old reckoning the lists of Delphian archons for the mythical period were constructed later.[3] This cycle of nine years, which is older in Delphi than in the other Greek sanctuaries, seems really to be of Cretan origin, for Homer characterizes King Minos of Cnossus as "ruler in periods of nine years."[4]

The connexion of Delphi itself with Crete in pre-Hellenic times is confirmed by an archaeological find, a Rhyton (drinking-vessel), shaped like the head of a lion or dog, with a hole in the lower jaw for rinsing and a depression in the snout for metal decoration: only the front part of the head is preserved (figs. 1, 2). It is of limestone, 10 centimetres long, and was found under the holy of

[1] Callimachus, ii. 60 ff.

[2] Martin P. Nilsson, *Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griech. Kalenders*, Lund, 1918, 40 ff.

[3] A. Mommsen, *Delphika*, 15; Pomtow, *Philologus*, 1895, lv. 245.

[4] *Odyssey*, xix. 178.

holies in the great temple of Apollo. Its special interest rests on the fact that in form it completely agrees with a similar

Fig. 1.—Cretan Rhyton from Delphi.

Fig. 2.—The same, side view.

Rhyton found in the ruins of the palace of Cnossus, and so belonging to the Cretan-Mycenean period, the second millennium B.C. (fig. 3).[1] Delphi's connexion with Crete has its pendant in the desire that prevails everywhere in the Greek "Middle Ages," the eighth to the sixth century B.C., of deriving everything old and venerable in religion and commonwealth from Crete. This finds special expression in the local traditions of the towns of Asia Minor. As Miletus was said to have been founded by "Miletus and the Cretans," so Chios, Erythrae, and Colophon had similar traditions of Cretans as the original colonists. The Cretan Curetes are met with again both in Ephesus and Priene.[2]

Fig. 3.—Rhyton from the Palace of Cnossus (*Fouilles de Delphes*, v. 3, fig. 13, *b*).

[1] *Fouilles de Delphes*, v. 3; Karo, *Archäol. Jahrb.*, 1911, 256.
[2] Wilamowitz, *Berliner Sitzungsber.*, 1906, "On the Ionic Migration."

The historical kernel is probably that the Cretans in the heyday of their power in the second millennium B.C. made the Greek people recognize the support and blessing of such elements in their civilization as their firmly founded royal power, well-ordered priesthoods, and cult organization. The non-Hellenic Cretans gave and were ruined; they lit the lamp of civilization and were themselves extinguished. The earliest traces we find of their influence are things as small but reliable as pottery and ornamentation; the polychrome style of vase-painting, reminding one of the Kamares style of the second millennium B.C., continued in Crete till the seventh century B.C. and influenced the Greek islands,[1] and the fresh Cretan natural ornamentation, founded on motives from the fauna of the sea which are responsible for the Cretan conception of the pair, the dolphin-god and his wife, finds its latest offshoots in the Ionian art of Asia Minor of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.[2] But we suspect a similar connexion at a still earlier period of civilization through the faint traces of pre-Homeric local tradition.

Besides the arrangement of priesthood and calendar, Crete perhaps also gave Delphi a richer cult-music, which finds expression in the legend of the Cretan Chrysothemis as the first winner of a musical victory at Delphi.[3]

But when the victory was won and Delphi conquered, Apollo had to contend with other gods who sought to dispute his sway. When, after the murder of Iphitus, Heracles, infected by blood-guiltiness and sickness, repaired to Delphi and inquired how he could be purified of disease and guilt, the priestess gave him no answer, and the strong hero madly rushed into the temple to plunder it and carry away the tripod. Then there was a battle, in which Apollo conquered and Heracles had to retire—a battle which was glorified countless times in poetry and art.[4]

Apollo was bellicose by nature, and did not shrink from avenging himself upon Father Zeus; for when he had killed

[1] Poulsen and Dugas, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxxv, 1911, 404 f.; Rhomaios, *Athenische Mitteil.*, xxxi, 1906, 186 ff.; Dugas, Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Vasa.

[2] Boehlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen*, Leipzig, 1898.

[3] Paus., x. 7, 2.

[4] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ii. 6, 2.

Asclepius, Apollo in revenge slew the Cyclopes, the strong smiths of Zeus' lightning, but by way of punishment had to serve for nine years as shepherd to King Admetus of Pherae in Thessaly.

The battle with Dionysus, too, did not end with the victory of Apollo, but with a compromise, which gave the nature-god an equal position with Apollo in the Delphian cult. It went so far that later authors of antiquity believed that Dionysus had been lord of the Delphic tripod before Apollo.[1] But this is not correct; for in that case the *Hymn to Apollo*, or anyhow Aeschylus, Pausanias, Strabo, Plutarch, or Diodorus, would have mentioned it. Dionysus reached Delphi after Apollo, just as he entered Greece later, but the vigorous intrusion of his cult is seen by the fact that he became coequal with Apollo at Delphi—his brother, as is prettily said.[2] The compromise was anyhow concluded before 582 B.C., for that the old calendar reckoning was still in force is shown by the circumstance that the festival of expiation, Charila, was celebrated every eighth year in Delphi. After the reconciliation Dionysus was thought of as ruling in Delphi during the three winter months, while Apollo retired to the land of the Hyperboreans; after the festival Dadophora in November, when Apollo was as it were accompanied by lighted torches on his journey to the darkness of winter, the dithyramb took the place of the paean, and the most beautiful hymn found in Delphi, which is so rich in hymns, is one which was written on a stone tablet in the fourth century B.C., and praises the glory and power of Dionysus.[3] At mid-winter the Thyiads, Delphi's wild women,[4] probably led by the priests, in literature called "Hosioi" (the pious), mounted to the high rocky plateau of Parnassus, where the Alonia (threshing-floors) have a picturesque view over hill and dale, and up in the darkness and snow danced in the gleam of torches, swinging their thyrsi in honour of Dionysus.[5] This

[1] Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle*, 31. [2] Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos*, 9.
[3] Weil, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xix, 1895, 393, and xxi, 1897, 510. The stele was found in the pavement of the sacred way by the altar of the Chians, and lay with text downwards.
[4] Perdrizet, Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Thyiades.
[5] Dempsey, op. cit., pp. 34 and 189.

is the Dionysus of Parnassus of whom the Greek tragedians sing,[1] Sophocles more beautifully than any other, in the *Antigone*, 1126 ff.: "Surrounded by the light of torches, he stands high on the twin summits of Parnassus, while the Corycian nymphs dance round him as Bacchantes, and the waters of Castalia sound from the depth below. Up there in the snow and winter darkness Dionysus rules in the long night, while troops of Maenads swarm round him, himself the choir-leader for the dance of the stars and quick of hearing for every sound in the waste of night."

Thus it was that the statue of Dionysus, surrounded by Bacchantes, stood, as we shall see later, in one pediment of the temple of Apollo, as rebuilt in the fourth century B.C., and in the holy of holies close to Apollo's golden statue the grave of Dionysus was shown.[2] Even the sacred Omphalos, the stone surrounded with fillets, which indicated Delphi as earth's navel, was conceived by some, not as the grave of the dragon, but as that of Dionysus.[3] In reality the Omphalos was a primitive stone fetish prior to Apollo, which was taken over by him. It was not the only sacred stone in the cella of the temple; here was also shown "the stone that Rhea gave to Kronos in place of the child (Zeus) she had borne, which Kronos disgorged later." The stone of Kronos was anointed daily, and at each festival draped with unwrought wool.[4] This testifies that the stone was a primitive image, and it is natural to conceive these two remarkable stone fetishes as the couple who originally ruled Delphi—Poseidon and Ge—whom the new religion had to take over, explain, and work into its cult, just as Mohammed was compelled to recognize the old fetish of Mecca, the famous black stone, and make it the stone of Abraham. Even the Jews had difficulty in overcoming fetishism: according to Genesis, chapter xxviii, Jacob raised a stone where he had had his dream, poured oil over it, and called the spot Beth-el (God's House).

But this mixture of a Dionysiac element in the cult of

[1] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 306; *Ion*, 714; *Phoen.*, 226.
[2] Philochorus, frag. 22.
[3] Tatian, *Adversus Graecos*, viii. 25; cp. Karo in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Omphalos.
[4] Paus., x. 24, 6. In the *Theogony* (468 ff.) Hesiod states that the stone vomited by Kronos was set up in Delphi.

Apollo increased its orgiastic character. Apollo becomes "the soothsayer inspired of Bacchus,"[1] who makes the devotees mad, takes his abode in the body of the priestess, and liberates her soul, so that she speaks "with frantic lips." Dionysus brings more fiery excitement into the religion of Apollo, but on the other hand much points to the fact that Apollo reacted on the cult of Dionysus, and gave Hellenic moderation and beauty to its ecstasy.

[1] Aeschylus, frag. 341.

II

THE ORACLE

THUS cult superseded cult in Delphi, and the development was crowned by the religion of Apollo, which by the time of the *Iliad* (ninth to eighth century B.C.) had made a rich sanctuary of Pytho. But there was still a long development to come before Delphi could be called "the common hearth of Hellas" or "Hellas' common tripod."

Originally, perhaps, only the people of the neighbourhood came and asked about their petty affairs, as they had already done in Ge's time—whether they should marry or not, go to sea or stay at home and plough, whether it was safe to lend this or that man money, whether they should buy a slave, where they should take work, whether they would have children, whether the year's crop would be good or not. It was this kind of trivial question which, to Plutarch's sorrow, had again become the rule, to the exclusion of serious matters, during the decadence of the Oracle in the times of the Roman Empire,[1] but naturally at all times it was predominant even in the great period of the Oracle. Thus Xenophon inquires, before he goes to Cyrus with the Greek mercenaries, to what god he shall sacrifice to secure a safe return home, a question which Socrates rightly blames; he should have asked whether he should go at all or stay at home.[2] Cicero's inquiry of the Oracle is very characteristic: "how he should attain the highest fame." The priestess answered that he should make "his own nature, not the opinion of the multitude, the guide of his life."[3] Question and answer are

[1] *De Pythiae oraculis*, 26 and 28. [2] *Anabasis*, iii. 1, 6. [3] Plutarch, *Cicero*, 5.

equally characteristic, the first of Cicero's vanity, the second of the conventional element in the counsel of the Oracle; it might have suited many another well, but not a man of so weak and easily frightened a disposition as Cicero. This kind of good advice was evidently the speciality of the Oracle, and questions of this kind were far more welcome than those which required prophecy of the future.

We can also imagine the Oracle consulted by private persons who had been robbed. Of its ability " to discover stolen goods " we have evidence from Pausanias (x. 14, 7), in the story of the man who had robbed the Oracle, but when, with his ill-gotten gains, he had lain down to sleep in a thicket on Parnassus, was surprised and killed by a wolf. The well-meaning animal then proceeded to run to and fro between Delphi and the place where the gold lay, until people noticed it, followed him, and found the gold, after which a bronze statue was raised to the wolf, as a deterrent to all temple thieves. Extant Delphian inscriptions [1] show that robbery and attempts at cheating the temple were not uncommon. On the other hand, the financial authorities of the temple knew how to avenge themselves, when the pilgrims, in payment for wreaths and sacrifices, had to change their native currency for Delphian money. The accounts show on this head a cutting of the rates of exchange much in favour of the temple.[2]

When the pilgrims consulted the Oracle, they had first to wash in the fountain of Castalia, and afterwards offer a cake and a victim on the altar in front of the temple; the poor brought a goat or a sheep, the rich one or more oxen. What happened early one morning at Delphi is prettily described in a chorus of the *Ion* of Euripides (82 ff.), how the young priest greets the dawn over the summit of Parnassus, and wreathes the temple door with fresh laurels; how he calls the other priests from their ablutions, drives away the birds that dare to defile the forecourts of the temple, and sprinkles the earth with the pure water of Castalia, never tired of the duty, which to him is sacred and dear.

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscript. Graec.*, 3rd ed., 416-8.
[2] Ibid., i. 447, footnote.

But it was not every day that the Oracle could be consulted; there came days when the god refused all—nay, even an Alexander had to go without obtaining an answer; and in winter-time, when Apollo was in the land of the Hyperboreans and Dionysus ruled in Delphi, no inquiries were made at all, but the Pythia was left in peace.

Which should first approach the Adyton (holy of holies) was determined by casting lots among the seekers of counsel, unless the pilgrim had "Promanteia" (precedence in consultation), and the believers were admitted in turn to the narrow room within the cella of the temple, the special arrangement of which will be indicated when the temple is described. Women might not ask directly, but had to employ men as intermediaries. On the other hand, the answer was always given by a woman, the Pythia, who had to be a free-born Delphian woman, to have lived a life without reproach, and to be "without technical insight or learning or any other aid." Originally the Pythia was young, but an attempted outrage determined the priests to prefer an older woman, who, however, when she took her seat upon the tripod, had always to be clad as a quite young girl arrayed in festal attire. Originally there was only one priestess, but in the heyday of the Oracle there were two, with a third as assistant. In Roman Imperial times one was again sufficient, and how forsaken and quiet the Oracle then was is shown by Lucan's description of the possession of the priestess, the fullest preserved to us, but certainly in many points exaggerated.[1] Before the inspiration there were great preparations; the priestess fasted, bathed in Castalia, chewed laurel-leaves or inhaled the vapours of burnt laurel and myrrh. For her sooth-saying was "artless, unlearned," not like augury, or the investigation of entrails, an art and science practised for generations. It was pure possession by the god, like that of Cassandra in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus or of the disciples in the Acts of the Apostles, and that is why disposition and preparation played so great a part. In the writings of Imperial times[2] much is said of physical causes for the μανία (divine frenzy) of the priestess, of cold vapours and currents of

[1] Lucan, *B.C.*, v. 161. [2] Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle*, p. 57 f.

air which came from the spring upon the Pythia on the tripod and made her presage " rhythmical and unrhythmical things." The pious Plutarch says, quite plainly, that this current of air was only the medium of the divinity; and it is striking that older authors, Aeschylus and Euripides, never mention it, and do not seem to know of any such material cause, just as the French excavations have not exposed any bottomless abyss from which strong and stupefying gases could be supposed to rise. One does well, therefore, to reject the physical and hold fast to mental causes, hysterical affections, which in every religion make women serviceable media.

The Pythia's confused utterance, which might degenerate into a wild shriek while she foamed at the mouth, was interpreted and put into an intelligible form by the " prophets," i.e. the priests of Apollo. In early times the answer was given in hexameters, originally the only poetic metre; and even when iambic verse and other poetical metres became prevalent, the priests of the Oracle held fast, as a rule, to the old venerable Epic metre and its appropriate linguistic forms, which made the answer awe-inspiring and obscure. By the Hellenistic age hexameter oracles were given up, and from now onwards, and through the whole Imperial period, the answers were given as a rule in prose, perhaps because sceptics, like the later Lucian, made merry over metrical faults and poetical awkwardnesses which did not harmonize with divine revelations.

The modern rationalist will immediately raise the question, " Was this genuine piety or trickery? " With respect to the medium, the poor ignorant and helpless Pythia, the answer is clear: her " madness " was genuine enough. The question is more difficult as regards the prophets of Delphi, who drew up the answers with a worldly wisdom which was far from ecstasy. But it is really impossible to determine the genuineness of religious feelings, as one ascertains in chemistry, by the help of litmus, whether a liquid is an acid or a base. No one is so well informed that he can enumerate how many of the Popes have believed in their calling with religious rapture, and how many have merely felt their ambition and lust of power satisfied by

giving nourishment or direction to the hope of bliss entertained by thousands. And about the shrewd priests of Delphi we know less than we do about the Popes. What is most important for us is the effect of the Oracle outside; in connexion with this, it does not matter what the individual brood of priests believed and felt when they transmitted the answer of the Pythia. And in its effect we see the might of the Oracle expand, in the power it obtained over princes and states, over thinkers and poets, over the life and morals of the common man. The great period of the Oracle begins in the seventh century B.C., and after the first Sacred War, in which the port-town Cirrha and the neighbouring town Crisa, as representing the district of Phocis, had sought to obtain supremacy over the sanctuary, had ended by the victory of Delphi and the dedication to Apollo of the whole of the Crisaean plain, so that the god became "neighbour of the sea" (i.e. the Corinthian Gulf), the sanctuary became more powerful than ever before, now that its international status was secured by the erection of a common Hellenic authority, the Amphictyonic Council.[1]

From now onwards all the states of Hellas and a multitude of the rulers of Asiatic kingdoms came and inquired of the Oracle at every important step. Delphi won a special importance through the fact that no Greek colony was founded without Apollo as leader and founder (Archegetes). Phoebus always delights in establishing cities, and with his own hand he lays the foundation, sings Callimachus.[2] To the Greeks the foundation of a city was a religious act, and therefore the assistance of a god was as necessary as in the construction of a temple. For the gods had to take up their abode in the new town if it was to thrive; and the determination which gods should accompany the emigrants, and where their sacred dwellings should be raised, could only concern the gods, and of them none so certainly as Apollo, the son of Zeus and the minister of his thoughts. Thus, for example, all the earliest Greek colonies in South Italy and Sicily were founded with Apollo's assistance, and Delphi constantly retained a sort of sovereignty over these new settlements, and—what was

[1] Paus., x. 37, 6-8. [2] *Hymn to Apollo*, 56; cp. Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 1, 3.

fully as important—the right to demand tithes of them. It was from this source in particular that Apollo expected his famous " golden harvest."[1]

From this point of view Delphi has rightly been compared with a colossal modern intelligence bureau.[2] The Delphian prophets had to know their way well in the politics of that age, and have at their disposal a great personal acquaintance with and knowledge about even the districts which lay outside the horizon of the Greeks as a whole. Therefore at Delphi it was impossible to be content with the usual temple chronicles or lists of Oracles given at earlier dates, " the black-written tablets," [3] but they had attentively to follow and put down in writing all the important events that took place even in far-off barbarian countries. From these Delphic annals Herodotus derived much information, as when he reports (i. 19-20, 22) that, when the Lydian king Alyattes fell ill and inquired how he should be cured, he received the oracle that he should restore the temple of Athena at Assessos which his army had destroyed. " But that I know from the Delphians," adds Herodotus. Specially typical is the narrative of the Cyrenians, who got a direction to leave their first dwelling-place on the coast of North Africa and go into the interior to a place where " the sky was more perforated " (iv. 157). In this case the priests of Apollo appropriated as " divine wisdom " what was certainly the dearly-bought experience of the colonists, that in " sheep-breeding Libya " the rainfall was considerably greater higher up the coast-fringe of mountains.

That, in spite of all precautions, the Oracle was not always lucky in its predictions is known; but it was strange if the priests did not find a way out of the difficulty afterwards, assisted by the obscurity of the answers themselves. So it was when the Oracle had impressed on Epaminondas that he should beware of " pelagos," and he at once interpreted it that he should avoid the sea. But when he fell in the interior of Arcadia, appearances were saved by the Oracle declaring that a neighbouring wood was called Pelagos. In the same way the Emperor Nero

[1] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 16. [2] Dempsey, op. cit., 103.
[3] *Eur. fragm.*, 629 (Nauck).

was told to expect evil from seventy-three. He believed that it was therefore certain that he would live to seventy-three, but the meaning was that seventy-three years was the age of his opponent and successor, Galba.[1] The oracle given to Croesus was the most famous; the Lydian king was assured that, if he should go to war with Persia, he would destroy a great empire. Trusting to this Croesus began the war, but himself lost his country and his life.[2]

This event made an impression on the Greeks of the day which can only be compared with that which the destruction of Lisbon made on Voltaire and his thoughtful contemporaries. It made the clear-seeing doubt of divine providence. For here Apollo left in the lurch the man who had given the god the richest gifts—gifts which were the first prominent objects to attract the pilgrims' notice—nay, he himself by his own answer had lured him on to destruction. The Delphian priests had to exert all their sharp wits to explain away the event—Herodotus gives us their defence [3]—or resort to assurances of Croesus' reception after death in the blessed land of the Hyperboreans, as Bacchylides does. Certainly the catastrophe was worse for the reputation of the Oracle than the discovery that in certain cases bribery had been tried with success. Herodotus states that it was the Pythia who took a bribe, and evidently gives the official clerical explanation, which allowed the priestess to bear the blame, just as she daily bore the woe and distress of inspiration.

All this, however, did not hinder the spread of faith in the veracity of the Oracle. The wonderful thing, of course, was not the submission of princes and peoples, for they worshipped inferior spirits to that which spoke from the tripod. But that which gives to the Delphian cult of Apollo importance for Greek civilization generally, and thus for humanity, is that all the spiritual heroes of the great age of Greece, poets and thinkers, listened with reverence to the voice from Delphi. Though Homer's poetry does not evince any specially close connexion with Delphi, in historic times a statue of him was shown in the temple of Apollo.

[1] Suet., *Nero*, 40. [2] Hdt., i. 53, 90-1.
[3] Cp. the common explanation in Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, vii. 2, 15.

The statement that Apollo drove the murderer of Archilochus from his sanctuary[1] witnesses to Delphi's relation to the poets as early as the seventh century B.C. The relation of Delphi to Pindar was so intimate and friendly that the Pythia bade the Delphians give the poet a share in the first-fruits they offered to Apollo,[2] and in the chief temple the iron throne was shown on which Pindar was wont to sit when he sang in the sanctuary; and not only Pindar himself, but his descendants were welcome guests at festivals in Delphi.[3] In splendid strophes Pindar gratefully praised the wisdom of Apollo: "Thou knowest the extreme measure of all things and the ways that lead thereto; thou knowest the number of the leaves, which the earth pushes up in spring, the number of the grains of sand, which in the sea and rivers are driven by the billows and the noisy winds; what shall come, and that out of which it comes." And this wisdom is combined with veracity: "the god has nothing to do with falsehood."[4] The same assurance is given by Aeschylus and Sophocles, and even the rationalist Euripides hesitates between recognition and scornful rejection.[5] Later, too, it was an honour for a poet to be praised as one "whom Apollo would not forbid to stand with lyre in hand and sing by the tripods."[6]

But the god was not contented, in the words of Plutarch,[7] "with bidding the honoured Muse take her seat upon the tripod stimulating the poetic mind, and filling it with poetic fancies"; thinkers also were his friends: Pythagoras, who is said, it is true, by an uncertain authority[8] to have borrowed most of his doctrines from Delphi as early as the sixth century B.C., and after him, the great Socrates, who in his *Apology* asserts that he was confirmed in his spiritual call through an oracle from Delphi. His pupil Plato preserved the same attitude of devotion, and in the *Republic*, where so much of what is old and venerable in Hellenic culture is rejected, it is said of Apollo, that he will continue to watch over the most important and weighty sides of legislation, and, further, over the founda-

[1] Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 109.
[2] Paus., x. 23, 3.
[3] Idem, x. 24, 5; Eustathios, *Vita Pindari.*
[4] Pindar, *Pythia*, ix. 42 ff.
[5] *Phoen.*, 958; *Electra*, 1245.
[6] Theocritus, vii. 100.
[7] *De Pythiae oraculis*, 24.
[8] Diog. Laert., viii. 8.

tion of temples, the ordering of sacrifices and other ceremonies in honour of the gods, demi-gods, and heroes. "For it is this god, I suppose, who from his seat by the Omphalos at the earth's centre is the national Expounder of this sort of thing." In the *Laws* he makes it a point that no cult shall be altered without the approval of the Oracles in Delphi and Dodona, and that of Zeus Ammon.

The third of the great Greek philosophers, Aristotle, had relations with Delphi, and worked directly in the service of the Oracle, in that, together with his nephew Callisthenes, he drew up a list of the victors in the Pythian games from the earliest times, a work of no small extent; for the inscription covered four great stone tablets and contained nearly 21,000 letters. In gratitude the Delphians set up an inscription in honour of Aristotle and Callisthenes, which was discovered in 1898 in the course of the French excavations, and awarded them wreaths. This resolution was taken in 331 B.C., but eight years afterwards the Phocians and Delphi broke away from the Macedonians, and on that occasion the old award of honour was cancelled on the ground of Aristotle's pro-Macedonian sympathies. In a letter of that period the philosopher declares that he is totally indifferent: "I do not trouble much, or not at all, about the fact that the honours I received from the Delphians have now been taken away from me."[1]

In the *Laws* Plato emphasized the most important sides of Apollo's influence on religion, morality, and legislation. In religious respects the Oracle was conservative, and friendly to the cults existing round about in Greek and barbarian states. When Apollo was asked by a man how he could best serve the gods, the answer ran unhesitatingly: "According to the custom and usage of thy city."[2] Even the uncanny Demeter of Phigalia with the horse's head is adopted by the Oracle, when her statue decayed by neglect, and the renewal of the old cult is commanded. Among the Olympian gods, Apollo seeks specially to promote the worship of Dionysus, "his Delphian brother,"[3] amongst

[1] Ditt., *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 275. [2] Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iv. 3.
[3] See on the point Rohde, *Psyche*, 5th ed., ii. 44 ff.

other things, by taking over the protection of the Dionysiac artists—that is, musicians, singers, and actors.

For the rest it was in particular the cult of heroes that the Oracle sought to revive, after both animism and hero-worship had been considerably weakened under the influence of Ionic rationalism, traces of which can be found even in the Homeric poems. It is one of the many points of resemblance between the Delphian Oracle and the Roman Papacy, this effort to revive old piety by the canonization of "saints" who might serve as shining examples to humanity. There was in the Hellenic nature an inclination to glorify man by making the gods human and men divine, and Apollo met this inclination by calling on cities to render divine honours and worship to their great dead. It is also characteristic that when Cleisthenes of Athens had to give names to his new tribes, he sent to the Oracle of Delphi one hundred names of Attic heroes for selection, out of whom the Oracle indicated the ten who should be utilized.[1] In combination with the hero-cult the Delphic god laid down rules, how the dead should be treated at burial, and how their favour from the other world should be secured. But at the end of the early period the Oracle went too far in its compliance with the national feeling in regard to the deification of man, in bowing to the popular worship of bodily strength and in making athletes into heroes. There is the specially unedifying case of Cleomedes of Astypalaea, who in boxing had killed his antagonist and was deprived of the victor's prize for dishonourable fighting. Frantic with vexation, he went home to his town, pulled down the roof of a school, so that sixty children were killed, and, pelted with stones, took refuge in the temple of Athena, where he crept into a chest. When this was opened, he was gone, and when the frightened townsfolk inquired the meaning of the miracle, the Oracle gave them the following answer: "Cleomedes of Astypalaea is the last hero. Sacrifice to him as an immortal."[2] As one sees, it was high time for the Greek list of saints to be closed.

But alongside of this revival of the worship of the departed, under Apollo's influence the sting was taken out

[1] Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 21. [2] Paus., vi. 9, 6-9.

of primitive animism by the proclamation that fines[1] and purification at Delphi could take the place of blood-vengeance. As Euripides puts it,[2] "Not murder in requital for murder, but purification from blood-guiltiness by exile; for otherwise there would always be one pledged to slay, in that he took on his hands the last blood-guilt." This thought had entered the Attic legislation through Delphic influence even before Solon. The exile of a murderer was concluded by purification with the blood of a pig at Delphi and by explicit directions as to appeasing the soul of the murdered man. At the same time respect for human life was heightened by the Oracle proclaiming that even the shedding of a slave's blood made a man a murderer and required penance and purification. Thus we have passed from the religious to the moral region. As the Delphic priesthood fought against the blood-feud, so they fought against Hellenic paederasty, but with complete failure. Otherwise Delphi shows no interest in sexual morality; the gifts of the hetaera were as welcome as those of the pious Pindar, Rhodopis could plant her spit by the great altar, and Phryne set up her gilded statue "between generals and kings" in the fore-court of the temple.[3]

It was of great importance for international morals that at Delphi a truce for the festival was instituted, beginning out on the roads which led thither. When Crisa broke this peace of the highways and levied high imposts on the pilgrims, the Oracle gathered the peoples interested to the first Sacred War, which secured for the believers free passage to the sanctuary without the loss of their offerings. Isocrates[4] rightly emphasized the importance of the fact that Greeks from the various towns and localities could meet at the great sanctuaries, talk over their disputes, pray and sacrifice together, remember their relationship, and in future feel greater goodwill to one another. A natural consequence of this was that Delphi became a sort of permanent court of arbitration for the disputes of states, and we hear, for example, at the beginning

[1] To atone for murder by payment in place of the blood-feud is recommended in the *Iliad*, ix. 632 ff.
[2] Eur., *Orestes*, 515.
[3] *De Pythiae oraculis*, 14.
[4] Isocr., *Panegyricus*, 43.

of the Peloponnesian War, that the Corcyraeans offer to let Apollo judge in the dispute between the Corinthians and themselves[1]; and in the same way inscriptions concerning the regulation of frontiers were as a rule set up at Delphi, as well as in the actual towns between which the conflict had arisen.[2] But the Oracle was by no means always quite impartial; during the whole of the Peloponnesian War it was definitely against the Athenians, because they had not protected Delphic interests against the Phocians[3]; and though it was officially forbidden to inquire of the Greek Oracles concerning a war against Greeks,[4] the sanctuary never refused to accept monuments of victory after wars of this kind. Moreover, Delphi could interfere with the internal affairs of states, especially in early times, when unwritten laws and rules were preponderant. In Sparta they went so far as to ascribe to the Oracle the oldest legislation.[5] At Athens in particular the Oracle obtained influence on important legislation and interpretation of laws by its participation in the appointment of Exegetae (interpreters), a kind of aristocratic council of priests, which even Plato proposes to retain in his ideal community.[6] The Athenian Exegetae "chosen by Pytho" had specially the oversight of religious purifications of the community and the individual, and thus obtained influence upon the rites of marriage and burial, upon festivals, and the sacrifices to be then offered to individual gods. Thus the Exegetae were also consulted when new temples were to be founded or new cults instituted, when an old image had to be renewed; nay, they could even, by interpreting divine signs such as earthquakes, eclipses, and the like, suspend a meeting of the Assembly, and thus share in the intriguing activity of actual politicians. Other Greek cities appear also to have had this religious consultative authority, which was a kind of representative of the Oracle on the spot, and gave hints and directions in the name of Apollo, just as absolution in the Christian Church originally could be given only by the Bishop himself, but later was also

[1] Thucyd., i. 28; cp. how the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus was a court of arbitration in a similar case, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 471.
[2] Ditt., *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 546. [3] Thucyd., i. 112, 118.
[4] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2, 22. [5] Beginning of Plato's *Laws*. [6] *Laws*, vi. 759 D.

given by any priest. At the same time the Exegetae were both diplomats of the Oracle and spies, and much of Apollo's mysterious insight into the interior life of states and the relations of leading personalities may be due to them.[1]

In Delphi the foundation was laid of a religious conscience, and thereby of a truer piety than Hellenes had felt earlier towards the divinity. This can be best and earliest illustrated from Herodotus's narrative (vi. 86) of the Spartan Glaucus, famous throughout Hellas for his justice. A Milesian entrusted him with his money, but when his children, after their father's death, demanded the money back, Glaucus refused them and answered that he could remember nothing. Nevertheless he prudently repaired to Delphi and asked whether by a false oath he might retain the money. The Oracle severely replied: "Glaucus, son of Epicydes, by retaining money in this way by an oath a momentary advantage is obtained. Swear on, for death awaits even the man who keeps his oath. But the oath has a nameless child without hands and feet. Quickly it follows, till it has caught its victim, and desolated the whole family and house. But the family of the man who keeps his oath is more blessed in after time." And though the penitent Glaucus restored the money, he was punished all the same, for, as the Pythia said, "to tempt the god and to do evil are one and the same." And he and his family were rooted out.

Even if this were a story invented by the priests without historical foundation, it shows the Oracle's determination to maintain moral justice among the Greeks, whose principles of action were certainly not more strict than those of the East to-day. Thus Apollo the Purifier (Katharsios) deserved his name in a deeper sense than that in which Greek religion originally conceived it. Purification by water or blood, or by mystical ceremonies such as those used by the Cretan Epimenides to free the Athenians from blood-guiltiness after the Cylonian murders, were no longer the principal thing. It was purity of mind on which emphasis was laid. To be pure was first and foremost

[1] Axel W. Persson, *Die Exegeten und Delphi; Festskrift til Lunds 250-Aars Jubilaeum.* Lund 1918.

to have pure thoughts. "Stranger, be pure-minded, when you enter the god's sanctuary, when you but touch the stream of water. But the bad cannot be washed clean by the seas of the whole world with their billows."[1]

Thus the Delphic maxim "Know thyself," which, like other sayings of Greek sages, was inscribed on the temple wall, and which originally was only intended to remind man of his impotence before the gods, receives a new scope and richness of meaning as a call to spiritual self-examination, which became through Socrates an important element of Greek thought and ethics. At Delphi a divine power of righteousness was proclaimed as stronger than all earthly powers. When the state of Argos is in distress and consults the Oracle, it receives its answer in the comforting words,[2] "Thou enemy of the surrounding peoples, thou friend of the immortal gods!" Certainly it is a drawback to our admiration to know that the question was put and the answer given at the time when Xerxes was advancing against Hellas, and Argos, like Delphi itself, was thinking of deserting the Greek cause and saving its own skin. But the thought in itself is great and inspiring, and we find it again in Aeschylus[3]: "Have the whole world as enemy if only you do not have the gods." Pindar's poetry, too, breathes this Apolline confidence, which generally was far removed from the nature of the Greeks.

Finally we must treat of Apollo's relation to the Delphians themselves. That the town of Delphi, in spite of all internationalization, regarded the sanctuary as its own, is proved by inscriptions, above all by the numerous inscriptions on the Pelargikon, the southern foundation wall of the temple, which from the third century was used for public advertisements. Of about 700 inscriptions preserved, most deal with the emancipation of slaves by Delphian citizens under the form of sale to Apollo.[4] That corresponds with what we know from other places, that the sanctuary is felt to be the proper centre of the town; thus, for example, at Athens the accommodation of disputes took place "in Polis, by the temple of Athena," that is, in front of the Parthenon.[5]

[1] *Anth. Pal.*, xix. 71; cp. also 74. [2] Hdt., vii. 148. [3] *Choeph.*, 902.
[4] Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes*, 144 f. [5] Antiphon, vi. 39.

To the delegates of the Greek states, the Amphictyons, a standing council, in which the Thessalian towns as a rule had the preponderance, the relation of Delphi was nevertheless always friendly, in that both parties had a common interest in combating the local Phocian attempt to acquire domination over the rich temple of Apollo. So we hear for the first time of the Amphictyons in connexion with the first Sacred War, that against Cirrha and Crisa, the towns in the plain below Delphi, which in 590 B.C. had tried to get the mastery of Delphi and the pilgrims who resorted thither. The war ended with the destruction of Crisa, the damming up of the harbour, and the confiscation of the whole plain for the benefit of "Apollo, Leto, Artemis, and Athena Pronaia," in other words of the Sanctuary. At the conclusion of this war the Amphictyonic Council, in which Delphi had two votes, came into prominence. The Amphictyons, or neighbours, whose chief task was the control of the temple finances, seem to have held two meetings a year, one in spring and one in autumn. The number of members was usually twenty-four. Athens, for example, had only one vote, and the same was the case with Euboea. Whether the two Delphian representatives looked after current business in the interval between the meetings is not known, but is likely enough. In any case the Delphians seem never to have been discontented or cantankerous; they quietly and carelessly enjoyed the riches that followed on the international position which the sanctuary thus took up.[1]

One can detect, even in the *Hymn to Apollo*, in the amazement and discomfort of the Cretans at the sight of the desolate valley, a wonder at the contrast between the poor natural conditions and the riches of the temple, a state of things which to the pious was a further proof of the power of the god; so well does he understand how to care for his priests and his town. But his provision for them seems to have demoralized the Delphians, who were laughed at in Athenian comedies as a people always revelling in sacrifices and festivals.[2] They were a people of hotel-keepers. Certainly the pilgrims could stay gratis in the public buildings and

[1] Sokoloff, *Klio*, vii, 1907, 52; Bourguet, *L'administration financière du sanctuaire pythique*, 140 ff.

[2] Athenaeus, iv. 173, d.

colonnades; but the quality assuredly engaged expensive rooms in private houses, and in any case a quantity of money and sacrificial gifts was brought into the town. One needs merely to have had the experience of being present at a church festival at the modern Greek wonder-working sanctuary of Tenos to understand this. From an inscription at Delphi in honour of a physician from the famous medical school of Cos, who practised "willingly and incessantly among all who sought the god," we learn that the Delphians had provided the best possible medical assistance for the pilgrims, who particularly on great festivals poured in in such crowds, that a kind of ambulance-station might be necessary.[1] From inscriptions we learn, moreover, that both the temple and the Delphians had great herds of oxen and horses down in the pastures of the plain, and that Apollo owned many houses in the town and great domains. But both he and the Delphians obtained their largest receipts from the portions of flesh which were offered in sacrifice, and the Delphians could live peacefully and comfortably under the sceptre of Apollo, just as mediaeval towns thrived best under the crosier of a bishop.

But certainly the Delphians were those who were least filled with a sense of the greatness of the place and the god. He who daily drinks the water of Castalia becomes indifferent to it. It was the foreigners who fostered and preserved the spirit of Delphi. Of these probably most were only thrilled by a vague mystical oppression, and never for a moment forgot the petty private interests which brought them there. Only a few saw Apollo in his full glory, even as the poet expresses it,[2] "Apollo shows himself not to everyone, but only to him who is good. He who sees him is great; he who sees him not is a small man. We will see thee, O far-striker, and we will never become small!"

[1] Ditt., *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 538.

[2] Callimachus, ii. 9.

III

DELPHI

DELOS and Delphi are favourite homes of Apollo the wandering god. Delos, a rocky island in the centre of the Aegean sea, is exposed most days in the year to the fresh whistle of the north wind. The blast gives to winter days the hardening cold of the North, and makes summer days refreshing and cool. If the wind rises in its might and raises the sea with it, one sees the little islands in the strait in front of the temple precinct disappear entirely in the billowy foam, and emerge again like ships with wet black bows; and then it may appear, when the rocks quake at the attack of the storm, as if Delos itself shook and rocked to break loose and become a floating island as in the early days. Before all history came Leto, who in the likeness of a she-wolf had escaped from the land of the Hyperboreans, jealously pursued by Hera, to the shore of Delos; and with her shoulder painfully propped against the stem of a palm-tree, she gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis; and it was then, while sacred swans flew singing seven times round the island, and a golden sheen was over the cliffs and the sacred lake and the brook Inopus, that four lofty pillars shot up from the roots of the earth and fastened the island on columns with diamond bases. So runs the legend; and there were stormy days, when we who lived months on Delos believed we could hear the rattling of the chains which bound the divine island to the earth's entrails.

But on quiet summer days Delos rests like a jagged jewel sparkling in the sun encompassed by the blue sea, or, seen from the heights of the gods, like a glittering star on a dark blue sky. Thus Pindar greets the island

in his striking strophe: "Hail to thee, thou divinely built, thou most charming growth for the children of fair-haired Leto, thou daughter of the sea, the wide earth's immovable prodigy; thou whom the mortals call Delos, but the blessed in Olympus call a far beckoning star on the deep blue earth."

In Delphi, on the other hand, we are nearer to the heaven of Olympus. For Parnassus, under whose brow it rests, is the highest mountain of Hellas, after Olympus.[1] Far over the regions under its foot, the snowy summit shines like a beacon most of the year; and when one stands on a spring evening on one of the heights by Thebes, where the winds sweep up and meet each other from all the bluish mountains that encircle the plain of Boeotia, then Helicon's dark ridge forms the southern boundary to the eye, while the snowy glimmer of Parnassus melts into the purple of sunset.

In the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* [2] it is said of the Delphian god: "And thou camest to Crisa under snow-clad Parnassus, to its foot that faces west,[3] and rocks overhang the spot, and a hollow, stony, wood-clad vale stretches beneath it." The description is short and exact. From the landing-place, Itea, which answers to the ancient Cirrha, by the Corinthian Gulf, the road leads between the olive-groves and corn-fields of the plain in an hour to the village of Chryso at the foot of Parnassus. Down here was Crisa, where the Pythian games were held till far into the fifth century B.C. From Chryso the road ascends in a steep and constant climb of three and a half kilometres to the present village of Kastri, and behind it, on the far side of a spur of Parnassus, lies the temple site of Delphi, the old Temenos of Pytho.

The mountain valley, where Delphi is situated, is 573 metres above the level of the sea, and is shaped like a Greek theatre; it is bounded on three sides by the perpendicular cliffs called Phaedriades, whose height varies from 200 to 300 metres, and is cut off southwards by the broad glen in which runs the river Pleistus (fig. 4). On the other side of it, answering to the stage-building behind the orchestra, rises the mountain Cirphis, whose tender green sides in spring

[1] Parnassus, 8,036 feet; Olympus, about 10,000 feet.
[2] 282 ff. [3] More exactly south-west.

Fig. 4.—View from Delphi of the Pleistus valley and the Crisaean plain. To left Mount Cirphis.

form a pleasant contrast to the bare silvery walls of the Phaedriades (fig. 5). In this gigantic theatre-like area, the cheerful part is supplied by the crevices and springs. The valley of the Pleistus is no longer "wood-clad," but vigorously cultivated with vineyards, olive-groves, and corn-fields, in whose rich abundance the red poppy, the typical spring flower of Greece, is flaming. On a spring day there is a mild and sweet fragrance from the produce of the earth, as it were a greeting from the plain of Crisa to the desolate cliffs of the sanctuary. Without this bright valley the neighbourhood would be melancholy and forbidding, for in the Phaedriades there are only crannies for eagles and vultures. "Beloved of birds and the haunt of gods," Aeschylus calls them [1]; and we can still understand the uncomfortable sensations of the ancients at the sight of these barren, unapproachable cliffs. Justin speaks of the echo they gave, whether of the human voice or the sound of the trumpet: it was such as made the listener turn pale and wonder.[2] In our day, when the lonely eyrie is visited only by few and the trumpets are mute, this effect of sound can no longer be experienced.

But all the fountains are not silenced; one, anyhow, is still alive, the spring of the Muses, Castalia. The Phaedriades are composed of slate below and limestone above, and where the two strata meet, from the "temples of the mountain," as a Greek poet would say, break forth cold springs. The most easterly of these is Castalia, which, in a deep cleft, has divided the solid rock of the cliffs and runs down in semi-darkness. After rain you can still hear a tiny waterfall roaring. Where the spring comes out into the daylight, plane-trees have settled to give shade and draw nourishment from the fresh water. The other sacred spring, Cassotis, ran through the Temenos and under the holy of holies in the temple; it was that which, by its cold vapours, increased the ecstasy of the priestesses, and thus it was the centre of the Oracle from the prehistoric days, when Ge the earth-goddess was ruler of this valley and sacred place. Cassotis is now dried up, like Delphusa, the third of Delphi's springs.

It is not merely the disappearance of the woods which

[1] *Eum.*, 23. [2] *Historiae*, xxiv. 6.

Fig. 5.—Delphi. To right the Pleistus valley. Behind and to left the Phaedriades. In foreground the ruins of the town and sanctuary.

has caused this, but also alterations of the ground by frequent earthquakes. The west and south sides of Parnassus form one of the seismic centres of Hellas, and when the earth is shaken in Poseidon's strong arms, great blocks of the slate of the Phaedriades are broken off and hurled down over the valley. Now it is the temples of the Temenos which suffer; now the god, with as it were supernatural mortars, defends his sanctuary against the onslaught of barbarians or robbers, if one may believe the pious stories. In any case, the earthquakes contributed to increase the mystic element already attached to the valley by the other natural features. No greater contrast can be conceived than that which exists between this wild and grandiose rocky valley, and the other great pilgrimage centre of ancient Greece, Olympia. There the river Alpheus winds through a smiling plain with corn-fields and vineyards, and the sanctuary itself is surrounded by these and by low fir-clad heights, which strike a quite northern note in the landscape.

But nature alone does not explain Delphi; there are similar conditions elsewhere, wild beauty and lonely grandeur, and yet the Greeks were not attracted by them. Nor were sanitary reasons sufficient to explain their choice, though they favoured its development. There was pure and high mountain air in Delphi, which would specially appeal to Boeotians, who came from the heavy, marshy atmosphere of their flat plains. Plutarch [1] describes the air of Delphi as "close and compact, with a tenseness caused by reflection from the mountains and their resistance, but at the same time fine and biting." He sums it up in the expression, "fine and close as silk." The accuracy of this will have been experienced by everyone who has made a long stay up there. The air, especially in the morning, is a little close and still within the screen of mountains, and in the afternoon, when the heat has sucked it dry, one may long for a puff of the Delian north wind. Only when the evening glow has cast its colours on the cliff walls does one feel the air vibrate fine and clear, and under the stars of night it is cold and crisp and ethereal, as it may be on mountains where the gods go to and fro.

[1] *De Pythiae oraculis*, 4.

Besides the springs, still, as always, a fundamental condition of prosperity in the South, the southern aspect of the valley was favourable for the prosperity of Delphi. Even in antiquity there was general agreement that such an aspect was healthiest both in summer and winter: in the former the sun stands so high that houses and roofs give good shade, and one is tormented neither by the morning nor the evening sun; in the latter the sun passes low in the sky and lets its warm rays penetrate into the open doors of the houses. Therefore, as the court physician of the Emperor Julian, Oribasius,[1] says, the places which have a south aspect are the healthiest. Therefore not only was Delphi so laid out, but also Priene in Asia Minor, and ancient Athens at the foot of the south slope of the Acropolis.

Of some importance also was the excellent strategic position of Delphi, covered as it was by the inaccessible Phaedriades, and hovering over the steep slope of the Pleistus valley, while the narrow road that led past could be defended by a few bastions. This secured the rich treasures of the sanctuary against surprise or plundering by lesser gangs of robbers; a whole army was necessary to attack it.

But more important than all this was the situation of Delphi in relation to the trade-roads. Parnassus forms the boundary between eastern and western Greece, between the fruitful cultivated lands of the east and the desolate mountain lands of the west, the land of the Aetolians and Acarnanians, where, even in the fifth century B.C., brigandage was so vigorously practised that everyone was compelled to bear arms, as in the early disturbed days of Hellas.[2] West of Parnassus ran the last safe trade-road from the numerous cities of Thessaly by way of Doris, the district round the head of the river Cephisus, through a narrow pass down to Amphissa and the Crisaean plain. From Cirrha, the best harbour on the Corinthian Gulf, goods could be shipped to Peloponnesus. From the east two trade-roads ran from Boeotia, south of the foot of Parnassus, one from Chaeroneia by way of Panopeus and Daulis, one from Lebadeia direct to the Schiste, the

[1] *Συναγωγαὶ ἰατρικαί*, ii. 317, Bussemaker-Daremberg's edn.; cp. Xen., *Oec.*, 9; *Mem.*, iii. 8; and Aesch., *P. V.*, 451.

[2] Thucyd., i. 5; cp. iii. 94, description of the Aetolians.

cross-roads where these two ways join and are met by one coming from the south from Anticyra and Ambrysus. From this "Triodos," at which, according to the legend, Oedipus slew his father, a defile ran through the valley between Parnassus and Cirphis, and over the ravine of the Pleistus past Delphi to the Crisaean plain. Thus the meshes of the network of roads met quite close to Delphi, and one of the chief tasks of the priests was to make these roads secure, at first for the sake of the pilgrims, later to promote commerce, by which the temple at Delphi secured great advantages. This is the only point of resemblance between cult-centres otherwise so different as Delos and Delphi, viz., the central position in the midst of an active commercial intercourse. What Delos was for maritime commerce, Delphi was for trade by land; in both places Apollo afforded favourably situated resorts, at which the men of the great mercantile world could meet, make bargains and dispose of their wares as in the Exchanges of modern times.[1]

Our knowledge of the history of Delphi is not, as it was only thirty years ago, limited to the documentary sources of antiquity, of which Pausanias's tenth book of his *Description of Greece* is the most detailed. Now the sanctuary itself speaks to us through its ruins, through buildings, sculptures, inscriptions, even through musical notes, for the excavations have brought to light a series of old hymns to the god with notation, and thus given our age the first satisfactory conception of Greek music.[2] The honour of this is due to the French, the French State, and the archaeologists of the French School at Athens. Previously very little had been done to uncover the ruins, which was natural enough, as the village of Kastri was actually built over the Temenos, which had to be excavated. The Danish archaeologist, Brøndsted, who visited Delphi both in 1810 and in 1811, says[3]: "The wretched little village of Kastri in many ways renders it difficult to survey the whole site, and to be able to get a satisfactory plan of Delphi one would have to begin by pulling down many of its huts." When

[1] Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, s.v. Delphoi. Details of Oedipus' murder of Laius, when they met at Schiste, in Eurip., *Phoenissae*, 40 ff.

[2] These hymns will be treated of in chapter x. [3] *Rejse i Graekenland*, ii. 32 ff.

the German Ulrichs visited the place in 1837, and gave a lively description of the village, the neighbourhood, and the visible remains of the walls, these last were limited to the southern boundary-wall of the temple area, which the inhabitants called Hellanikó, a name constantly used of ancient remains by modern Greeks, and only correctly understood when one knows that the word Hellenes in the language of the Greek peasant is synonymous with "giants." Higher up another wall was also visible, which the learned, on the ground of its irregular courses, called "Pelargikó," which was the southern foundation-wall of the terrace on which the temple stood, extending for eighty-three metres.[1] Ulrichs also found some reliefs, of which one was later identified as belonging to the Treasury of the Siphnians.

Some years later, in 1840, the prominent German scholar Ottfried Müller visited Delphi and copied the inscriptions on the Pelargikó. It was the death of him, he had a sunstroke; and superstition saw in this the hand of destiny, because in one of his works he had endeavoured to prove that Apollo had never been a sun-god; so the god struck him with his arrows by way of punishment.

The French interest in Delphi began in 1861, when Foucart and Wescher undertook the first regular excavations on the site.[2] Napoleon III was much interested in the enterprise, and supported it out of his own pocket, but the expulsion of King Otho from Greece put a stop to the work. It was not till 1880 that the French scholar Haussoullier began again to dig on Delphian soil, and uncovered the Stoa of the Athenians and part of the sacred processional road. Foucart, who in the meantime had become Director of the French School at Athens, applied to his Government in 1882 for 100,000 francs to continue the excavations, and concluded an agreement with the Greek Government, according to which it should expropriate thirty houses in Kastri, and permit the French to excavate on the same terms as the Germans, when in the seventies they dug at Olympia—that is to say, the finds were to belong to Greece and stay *in situ*, but

[1] Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, i., 1840, 35 ff.

[2] A. Michaelis, *Die archäologischen Entdeckungen des xix Jahrhunderts*. More fully treated by Radet; *L'Histoire et l'œuvre de l'Ecole française d'Athènes*, 301 ff.

the excavators might have duplicates of less important objects, with the exclusive right of making and selling all casts, and of publishing the finds. A change of Ministry in Greece brought about a fresh delay, and the new Premier, Tricoupis, would only give his consent if France would lower the duty on Greek currants. This was refused, and in retaliation the Ministry turned to the Germans and offered them the excavation. But Germany politely refused, in order not to irritate France. The Americans immediately came forward with millionaires behind them, and offered to pay the cost of expropriation as well as excavation. But this time it was the Greeks who refused.

The matter was not settled till 1891. The French Government voted half a million francs, which by later grants rose to a million, though not without protests in the Senate, where an angry Marquis gave vent to his feelings in the words: "On fait de nous des chercheurs de truffes!" Greece undertook the expropriation of Kastri, whose houses and plots of ground, about one hundred in number, were removed further westwards, on the other side of the spur of Parnassus. Nor was this removal carried out without dissatisfaction. When the excavations were begun, in October 1892, the Kastriotes attacked the workmen and destroyed their tools. The military had to be called in, and soldiers with loaded rifles drew a circle round the site of the excavations.[1] The work went on at full strength every spring and summer from 1893 to 1900 under the direction of Th. Homolle, who had now become Director of the French School. Besides the young members of the French School, the competent engineer Convert took part as practical leader, and did excellent work. Homolle had a phenomenal capacity for work, and preferred to study and publish all the material himself, both inscriptions, statues, architecture, and topography. But owing to his zeal for the concentration of the work, the publication of the finds, in spite of his iron energy, was long delayed, and is still far from complete. The volumes of plates for the work on Delphi have certainly been out since 1905, but only few of the volumes of

[1] Homolle, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, xvii, 1893, 184.

text have appeared. And since Homolle is the only man who possesses all the first-hand knowledge of the excavator, further delay may eventually be fatal for the result, especially as the state of the site excavated is not clear to the observer. A sharp, and in its form unpardonably rude, criticism appeared from the German side [1]; but in later years Homolle has sought and obtained assistance from a body of younger French archaeologists, who have taken over a part of the task, and the first very promising results of this were before us just at the outbreak of the world-war.

Art in Delphi has a character of its own, which must be explained by historical relations. In the *Hymn to Apollo* it is said of Delphi, Apollo's stronghold: "Far from the rattle of carriages and the neighing of horses, and yet men bring thee gifts." Everything in Delphi is given to Apollo, not merely the votive offerings proper, but the buildings, monuments, and sculptures. Both cities and individuals in gratitude adorned Delphi, and endeavoured to out-do each other in noble and sumptuous works. In Delphi, as in Olympia, the treasuries were specially typical, small temples, "executed by peoples and dynasts, in which they set up the things dedicated and the works of the best artists," as Strabo says.[2] They bore witness to the piety, riches, and high artistic civilization of the cities; and of the ambition which prevailed in this connexion we can form an idea through Pindar's beautiful metaphor, when he speaks of rearing to the Sicilian town Acragas "a treasury of hymns in the vale of Delphi." [3] The temple of Apollo was itself a gift, built by contributions gathered through all Hellas, and this applies, as we shall see, both to that built in the sixth and that erected in the fourth century B.C.

Thus the art of Delphi is as little autochthonous (native) as that of Olympia, in contrast with Athens and the cities of Ionia; it did not grow out of the life of town and people as a natural surplus of power, or an outcome of the citizens' effort to decorate the town of their fathers and erect such

[1] Pomtow, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1906, 1165 ff.
[2] Strabo, ix. 419.
[3] Pindar, *Pyth.*, vi. 6. On treasuries in general see Dyer, *J. H. S.*, xxv, 1902, 294 ff. A case is also known where a treasury is granted to an individual to preserve his votive offerings; Ditt., *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 419.

a memorial to themselves as the time and the race were capable of. Delphi's memorials are the homage of foreign states to Apollo and his priesthood; they are therefore without the national root and vigour which stamp the art of Athens, or at the Renaissance of Florence and Venice. Throughout the art of Delphi is an expression of the emulation of the Greek states, and there is no lack, even in the inscriptions on the bases, of elaborately boastful witness to the warlike complications and reciprocal devastations of these states.[1]

It was regarded as important to give of the best, but not necessarily by using native artists, as would be the case with national monuments in their own towns. In the fourth century B.C. we can point out how the same artist, obviously resident in Delphi, works for different and partly rival states[2]; and even in the sixth century this seems to have been the case, to judge by the inscriptions, which have Delphic forms, even though the man who ordered them was from Paros or Sicyon.[3] Therefore, in the determination of the style, the nationality of the orderer is as a rule quite unimportant. To this international rivalry and local impersonality in art we know no parallel in Christian times. Rome, whose position in many other respects reminds us of Delphi's, had always a special character, and its holy soil was never a mixing-bowl for the art-schools of the world. Perhaps, if Jerusalem had continued in Christian occupation through the Middle Ages and later centuries, we might have experienced there similar artistic relations to those of the two great Greek sanctuaries.

The Delphian sculptures, both the separate works and the plastic decorations of buildings, are now assembled in a small museum on the spot, built by the rich Greek Syngros between Delphi and Kastri. It is the general opinion that the solidity of this building does not correspond with the noble works of art it contains; it has bad foundations and is poorly built, and will not be able to resist even a slight earthquake shock.

[1] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 15.

[2] The artist Antiphanes is described in my article *Videnskabernes Selskabs Oversigt*, 1908, 6, 415.

[3] Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, text i, 18.

The entrance to the Temenos is from the east side, and it is also from the east that, in the second century A.D., Pausanias the Periegete comes in the course of his tour

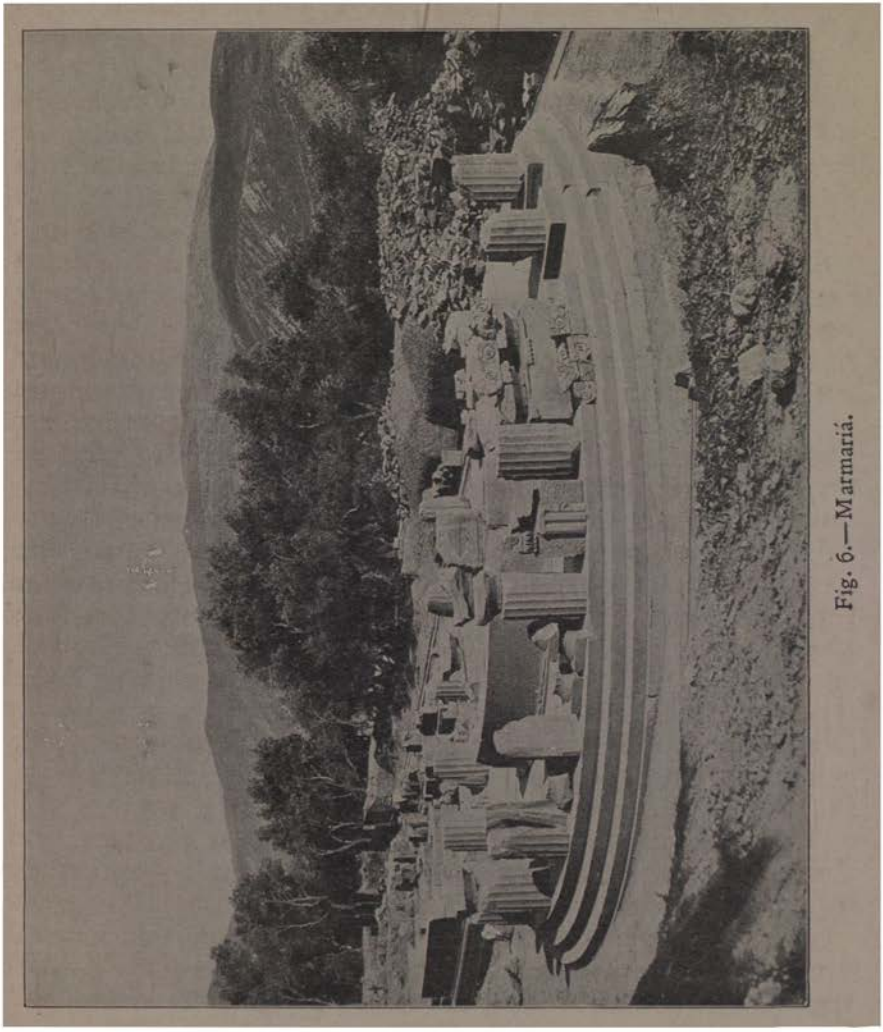

Fig. 6.—Marmaria.

to Delphi. The road in our day is rather higher than that of antiquity, with a fine view through ravines in the Cirphis range to other mountains and plains. The first trace of Delphi one meets on the east side is the town cemetery,

with grave monuments from the sixth century B.C. down to Roman times. Beyond the graves is a charming little Temenos dedicated to Athena Pronaia—that is to say, "she who dwells before the temple." Here are foundations and fragments of the four temples Pausanias saw and hastily characterized. The spot is now called by the Greeks Marmariá, "quarry of marble," a name which shows how later generations utilized the ruins and took away the material. Now it is preserved inviolate, and is one of the prettiest spots in all Delphi (fig. 6).

In antiquity the road led on past the Gymnasium and Palaestra of Delphi, both erected for the youth of the town and the athletes who trained for the Pythian games. Here was a Xystos, an open space surrounded by colonnades, and a Paradromis, a walk with plane-trees for physical exercise in the hot season. Inscriptions speak of the treatment of these training-places: they are broken up, rolled, and strewed with "white earth" (sand), and this work is let out to contractors by the town council of Delphi. The Gymnasium was excavated after the expropriation of a little Greek monastery built over its site. There are only slight remains of it. One can still see the great circular swimming-basin, one metre deep, which was in the open air, and in Roman times had added to it a room for warm baths; moreover, remains of colonnades which surrounded the exercising ground, a Roman well-house, rooms for taking off clothes, and the room for instruction. Inscriptions celebrate some of the teachers in literature, morals, and rhetoric; especially one is praised for his piety, because he would not take money for his instruction, but worked for the honour of the god.[1]

A little higher up than the Gymnasium is the spring Castalia, whose water supplied the aqueduct and swimming-basin of the Gymnasium, and is still so excellent that people come from a distance to draw from it. Beyond Castalia we are face to face with the town and sanctuary, of which Pausanias says: "The town of Delphi lies on a steep slope; the same is the case with the sanctuary of Apollo, which is of considerable size, and forms the highest part of the town" (see

[1] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1899, 563 ff., and 1900, plate xiii.

fig. 5). Below the south wall of the sanctuary, Hellanikó, the excavations have laid bare the remains of tiny Greek private houses, often consisting of only one room and an ante-room, built of undressed stone from Parnassus with earth as filling, but the walls were covered with stucco. They lie one over the other on terraces cut into the rock; and built against the rock walls, like houses in many Italian towns to-day, e.g. Fiesole, remind one of swallows' nests. Calculations based on the lists of the slaves liberated each year, which are inscribed on the Pelargikó, show that Delphi, in the second century B.C., had about 10,000 inhabitants. With the exception of the "Sacred Way," Delphi certainly had no street names any more than any other Greek provincial towns of antiquity; we know from Hippocrates' treatise on Epidemics,[1] from the case-books quoted in it, how the inhabitants of Greek small towns were described and identified by the situation of their abodes with reference to temples, squares, fountains, or special parts of the town wall. West and north-west of the Temenos is a quarter of Roman date on a more ample scale, containing ruins of baths, family graves, and a Byzantine church, which shows that Delphi was inhabited even after the downfall of the old religion.

The Temenos itself, surrounded by walls on all sides, covers 20,000 square metres (fig. 7), and thus it is rather smaller than the Altis at Olympia. It is shaped like an irregular trapezium; the east side is longest, 190 metres, the south side shortest, 125 metres. The Peribolos wall varies very much in construction, now irregularly polygonal, now isodomous—that is, formed of equal sized, well-formed blocks. The south wall, Hellanikó, and the southern portion of the east wall are very prettily built. As Pausanias correctly says, the Peribolos is pierced by various entrances; on the east there are four, and as many on the west, not counting the main entrance on the east, and they are placed to face the narrow cross-roads which divide the Temenos from east to west. A remarkable indication of the vitality of a road, in spite of devastations and alterations of the ground, is to be seen in the fact that

[1] Books I and III.

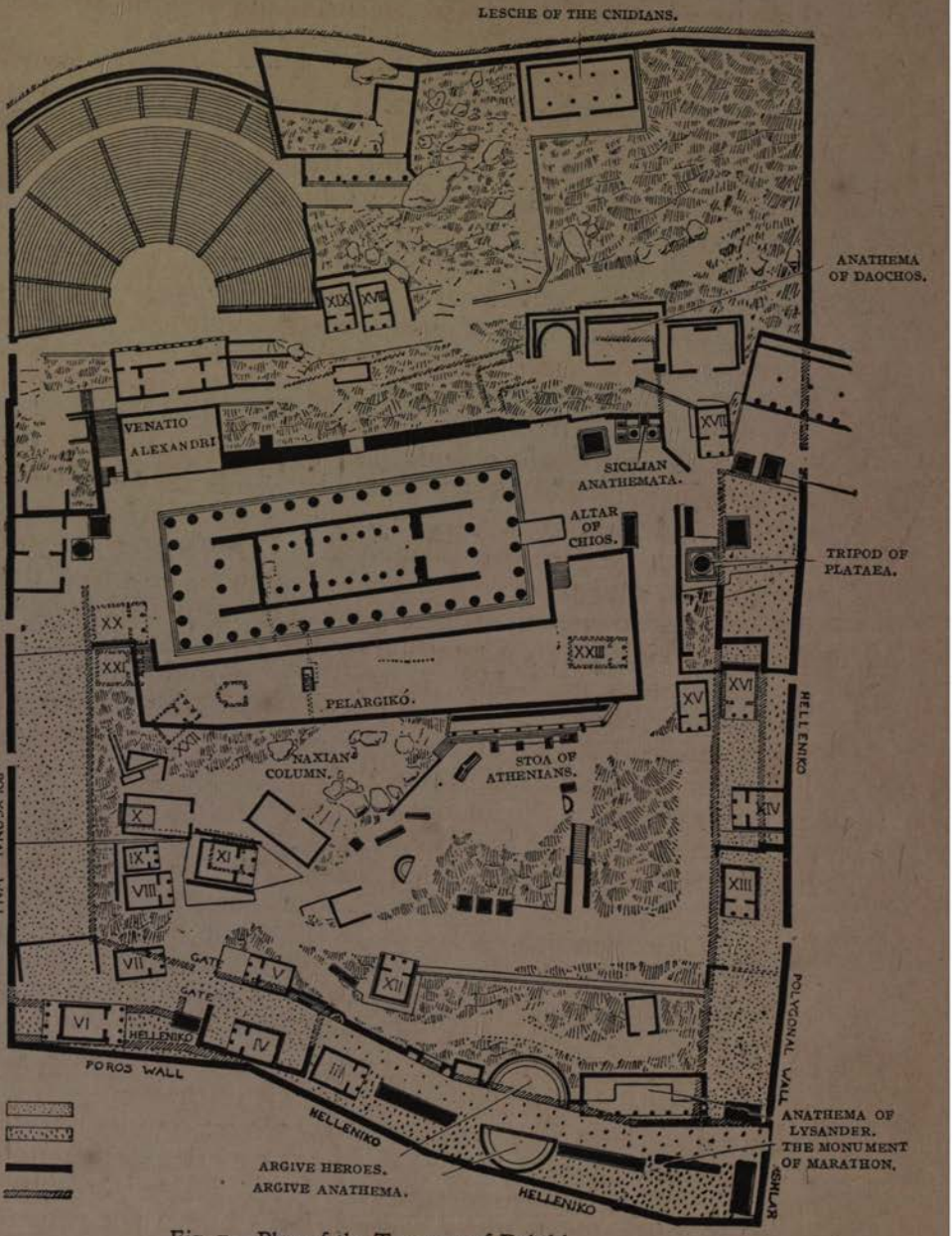

Fig. 7.—Plan of the Temenos of Delphi.

the streets in the village of Kastri, while it still lay over the Temenos, followed the old lines.

The chief entrance, as the plan shows, is at the south-east, and faces an Agora, a large paved area, bounded on the north-east by a colonnade. Here the pilgrims could assemble and be marshalled, and then ascend by five steps to the gate, the frame and threshold of which are now completely gone. On the third step before the gate stood, as traces show, two great holy-water basins; in these the pilgrims, who should have bathed already in Castalia, probably dipped their fingers, and received a symbolic purification analogous to that of modern stoups in Catholic churches. "When we enter sanctuaries, we sprinkle ourselves with water to cleanse ourselves from guilt, in case we have done evil beforehand," says Hippocrates. Within the gate begins the Sacred Way, and winds between votive groups and treasuries up the steep site, which rises by fifty metres within the Temenos. One notices at once the unique, well-preserved pavement, which, however, does not go back to the age of Philip and Demosthenes, but is of Imperial date, partly Domitian's time, and partly the time of the Antonines. The material, a motley mixture of Breccia, limestone, and marble, is taken from older and destroyed buildings; so the pavement belongs only to the period of Delphi's decline, but the road itself is much older, as the position of the monuments shows.

The Sacred Way has the shape of an inverted S, first has a westerly direction, then beyond the Treasury of the Siphnians turns north, bends eastward at the Treasury of the Athenians, and so continues to the angle of the southern terrace wall of the temple (Pelargikó), where it mounts northward again. Beyond the great altar of Apollo, and in front of the dedication of the Geloans, the road goes back to its original direction, and runs along the north side of the temple to the steps in front of the theatre.

Pausanias describes the theatre, whose giant fan fills the whole north-west corner of the Temenos, as a notable sight. The thirty-three rows of seats, divided by flights of steps into seven wedges, were still visible in the fifteenth century A.D., when Cyriacus of Ancona visited Delphi, but

later were buried with earth, so that the French had to dig them out as well as the flagged orchestra and stage building, which dates from Roman times, while the theatre itself is named in an inscription of 150 B.C. It is built of limestone from Parnassus. For Delphi's other place of amusement, the Stadium, there was no room in the Temenos, where every inch of earth was valuable; it lies northwards, with a picturesque view of the site. The length of the course (fig. 8) is 178 metres, which corresponds with 600 Delphian feet, which was the Delphic "Stadion." The best preserved part is the twelve tiers of seats on the north side, cut in the rock, and covered with limestone slabs; the south side and the semicircular western end (Sphendone) had only six tiers; they were built on an artificial terrace, and so have been washed away. Over the breastwork on the north side, 1·3 metres high, the seats are divided by staircases into twelve sections or wedges, and the interval between the staircases is thirty-nine metres, a Delphic Plethron. That suggests that the Greeks, like modern sportsmen, were interested in measuring for themselves the smallest records. The Stadium held 7,000 spectators; the highest-born sat in the western semicircle, but the start was from the white stone slabs at the east end, where there are depressions for the feet, and traces of the wooden posts, which, before the start, were connected with tape which was drawn aside at the moment of starting. Like the starting-point (Aphesis), the winning-post (Terma) had also a crosswise row of stones.

In a walk along the Sacred Way there were in antiquity works of art enough to examine and admire, and though Pausanias did not visit the Temenos till the Oracle had suffered from numerous ravages, amongst which the worst were those of the Phocians in the fourth century (about the works then plundered the Rhodian Anaxandridas wrote a book), those of Sulla in the first century B.C.,[1] and Nero's in the first century A.D., whose spoil was, it is said, not less than 500 bronze statues, the Periegete declares, at the outset, that he cannot name and describe all the

[1] Plutarch, *Sulla*, 12.

numerous statues in Delphi. Nowadays the visitor to the Temenos walks only between the foundations of buildings and groups of statuary, and by help of the text of

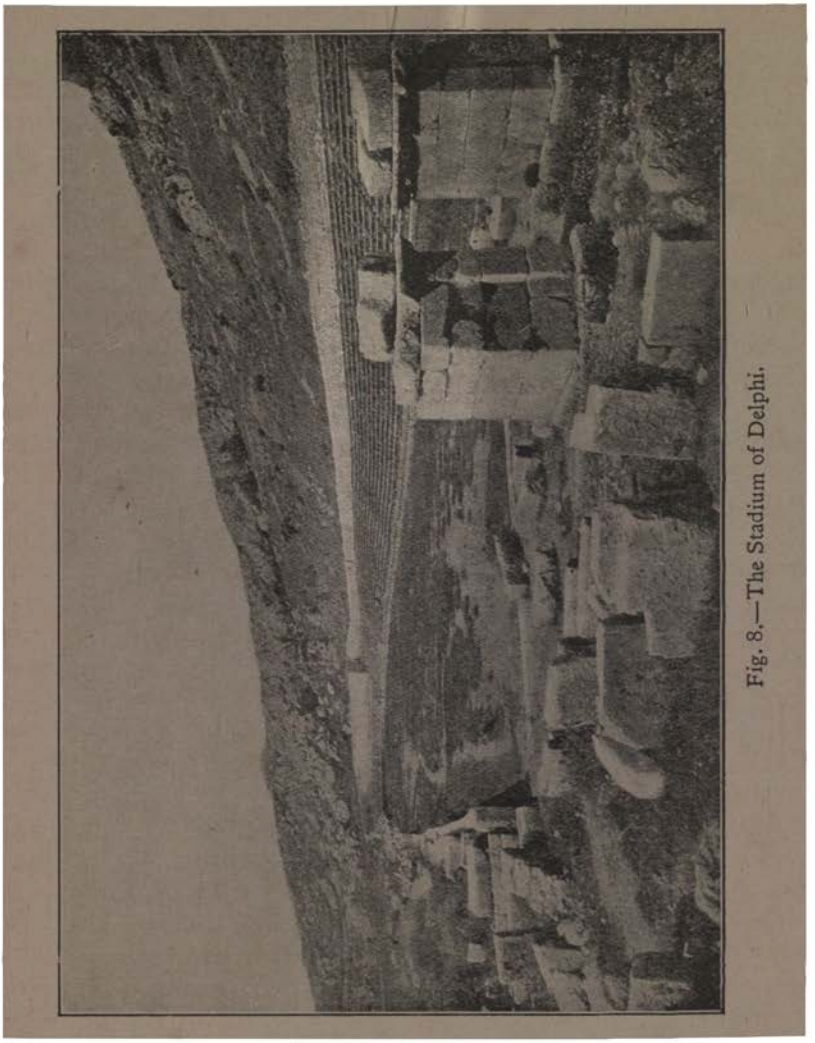

Fig. 8.—The Stadium of Delphi.

Pausanias and the inscriptions, of which over 6,000 have been discovered, the learned seek to ascertain which monument in each individual case occupied this or that site.

These questions, on which there is nothing like agreement,

are of great topographical and historical interest, but will not occupy us in this work. Nor shall we seek in fancy to recreate the lost works of art; merely the swarms of statues before the eastern side of the temple would give us enough to do, for here, mixed up with each other, stood statues of Apollo, equestrian statues, bulls, asses, goats, and a bronze palm-tree, a gilded statue of Athena, a similarly gilded statue of the Hetaera Phryne, between bronze figures of King Archidamus of Sparta and King Philip of Macedon. Some—like the bronze statue of Apollo Sitalkas, about seventeen metres high, dedicated by the Amphictyons in 346 B.C. from the Phocian booty, which had to be surrounded by a scaffolding when it was to be provided with a new wreath [1] —could assert themselves by their size alone; while others had to be raised on columns or pillars to be seen, like the statue of Phryne, or the family group which a noble lady, Aristaineta, in the middle of the third century B.C., raised on a very pretty foundation, which is supported on two columns ten metres high. On a gigantic plinth was raised the monument of Aemilius Paullus's victory over the last king of Macedon, and many others of Hellenistic and Roman times.[2]

Of artistic grouping there was no question in Hellenic sanctuaries, at Delphi as little as at Olympia or on the Acropolis of Athens. The votive offerings were crowded together, and robbed each other and themselves at the same time of space and effect. No museum store-house could look more motley and chaotic than the sacred Hellenic sites, where the chief art-works of various periods met and competed with each other. But time has made a clearance in this throng. Only few and broken statues, chiefly of stone, have come to light in the excavations, and only scanty remains of the fine decoration of old buildings in relief or sculpture in the round have survived weathering and devastation. This book will deal with the remnants of the great past, and this task involves an arrangement of the material by chronological points of view, not according to their position in the Sacred Way. It is clear that the material must be sifted: partly fragments must be omitted

[1] Ditt, *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 243, n. 16.
[2] Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes*, 204 and 206.

which are too much destroyed or are unimportant, especially when demonstration can rest only on illustrations and not on the objects themselves; partly it would be absurd to include finds which are artistically unimportant, like the reliefs from the stage-building of the Theatre. So only the beautiful or characteristic works of art which are in a good state of preservation will form the subject of our narrative. But so peculiar are many of the works from international Delphi, so far from uniform by reason of the different native places of the founders and the artists, that even one who has a general knowledge of the development of Greek art will not feel the examination of the art of Delphi to be a repetition of well-known phenomena of style or problems of form. New and rare flowers grow everywhere along the road.

IV

THE EARLIEST FINDS OF DELPHI

THEOPHRASTUS, in his botanical treatise (iv. 8, 10), states of the lotus-flowers in the river Euphrates, that their heads from evening to midnight sink and hide under the water at such a depth that no one can reach them with his hands; but when morning comes, they rise towards the dawn, and spread their leaves over the surface of the water, just when the sun's rays reach them. Then the flowers open and the stems rise high over the waters. In the fall of old towns there is something that reminds us of those flowers. The day came when they drooped their heads under the waters of time, and the hands of men could not reach them. But the mind of man dreamed of the far mysterious places in the depths, and one morning they rose again, not in their former splendour—the leaves were decayed, and others torn and crumpled by hard usage —but anyhow with the old lines in full clearness. Anyone who attentively examined them discovered the characteristics of the past and some of the charm of great days. But in one respect they gave after ages more than their contemporaries: they revealed themselves, not in the shape of one definite period, but unveiled layer on layer of the varying peculiarities of ages. They rose in varied pomp of colour from the rocky ground and early days, and brought us near to times which were touched by no historical memory. They introduced the present age into a life and activity which were dark to the people of antiquity, only illuminated by the diffused gleam of legends.

Even in the Stone Age the vale of Delphi was inhabited.[1] Small stone axes, mostly of serpentine, have been found

[1] For what follows see Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, v (text and plates).

here and there in the site, but there seems to be no question of any populous settlement. Only in the second millennium B.C., in the Mycenean period, do real layers of finds show a considerable centre of habitation, and from then onwards the development is unbroken through all the pre-Greek and Greek periods down to the end of antiquity. In this respect there is a close parallel with what we know from other venerable seats of cult, like Delos, the Acropolis of Athens, and the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis. By means of these finds of small objects in bronze and terra-cotta the modern student makes the history of Delphi live again, follows the progress and decline of races, notes the provenance of the objects or gifts, and draws conclusions from them as to the composition of the troops of pilgrims and the relations of the priesthood. Thoughts are fostered and feelings roused, while the small finds are examined under the historical microscope, cross-questioned and forced to deliver up their secrets.

We have already described and illustrated the fragment of a vessel from the deep layer under the temple sanctuary (above, p. 16 and figs. 1, 2). How strange it is that we can take into our own hands one of the sacred vessels which bear testimony to the early connexion between the Oracle of Delphi and the capital of Minos, and with which, perhaps, one of the first priests in the second millennium purified the ground, and dedicated it to the new lord of the oracle, Apollo!

But this is not the only or the earliest find of the finest period of Creto-Mycenean civilization. In the Temenos, especially under the temple cella, and in the deep layer of earth on its east side, where the high altar to Apollo was rebuilt by the city and island of Chios in the fifth century B.C., numerous Mycenean sherds and terra-cottas have come to light. From the layers here, which consist of rich black earth mixed with ashes, closely packed with Mycenean sherds and bits of burnt bone, it can be seen that this spot was from the earliest times the site of Delphi's chief altar. If one examines the terra-cottas found here and under the temple, one is surprised to see that they all represent women (fig. 9). In point of form they are very primitive, evidently

executed on the spot and offered for sale to pilgrims, and in the case of most of the figures one cannot definitely make out whether they represent devotees or the goddess worshipped. They are kneaded in clay, and shaped with a nose like a crescent, small breasts, and shapeless raised arms; the eyes are either painted like two circles, or formed by lumps of clay stuck on, and the costume is indicated by rough lines of the brush.

But in this crowd of women, one figure is distinguished, the second from the left in our illustration, which with outstretched arms sits naked on a three-legged seat. It is not because the figure is prettier than the others; the style is equally rude, and it has suffered greatly, for the head, hands, and feet and the greater part of the legs of the seat are gone. But she is seated, and she is nude. Primitive nudity, which, by reason of its expressiveness, is common to all art when groping in its beginnings, is a stage that Mycenean art has already left behind, and nudity is employed only in the case of divine figures.[1] It is certainly a goddess, and when we respectfully examine it in all its ugliness, we are fain to believe that it is a miniature copy in clay of the actual temple image of Ge, the earth goddess, the primal prophetess, of whom the sources speak as the oldest occupant of the Oracle. However insignificant it is, it betokens an artistic and religious advance on the stone-fetish, which to the first race seemed sufficiently expressive as revelation of the divine shape. Man has succeeded in creating God in his own image; here we have the beginning of anthropomorphism; it is a far cry to the temple statues of a Pheidias, but this little figure is at least the first step on the right road, because it supersedes the rude lump of stone, which, however, neither itself nor later and more beautiful statues of gods succeeded in getting rid of (cp. p. 19).

Outside the Temenos, especially at Marmariá (cp. p. 50 and fig. 6), notable Mycenean finds were made. Down here, too, in what was later the sanctuary of Pronaia, there was an ancient settlement, and in view of these two neighbouring but separate dwelling-places one is reminded of

[1] F. Poulsen, *Archäologisches Jahrbuch*, xxi., 1906, 177 ff.

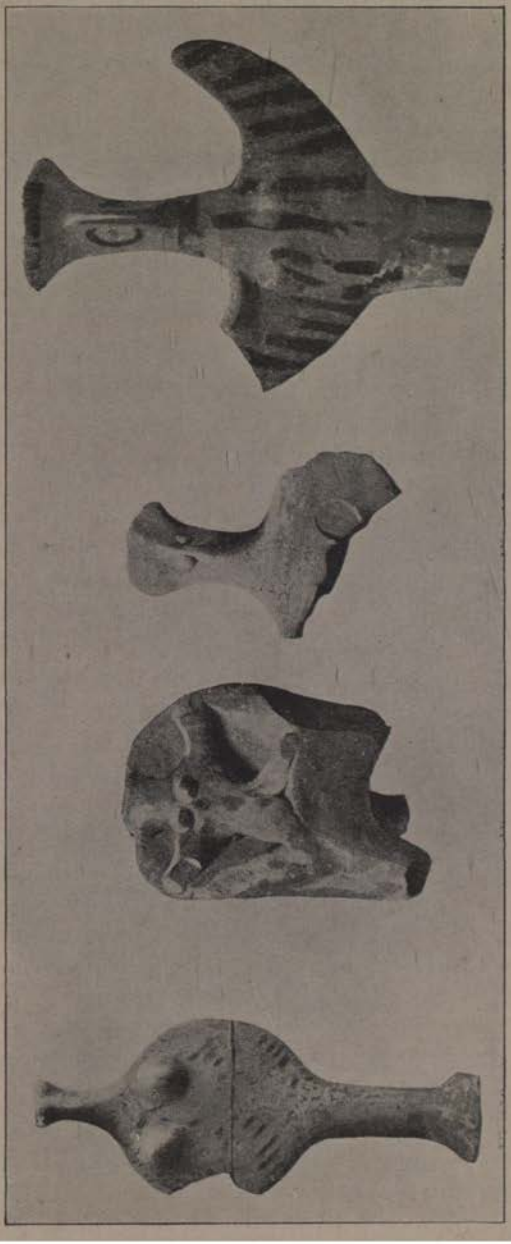

Fig. 9.—Mycenean terra-cottas from Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, v. 14, figs. 57–60).

the tradition of the scattered villages into which old cities were divided, a system retained by Sparta down to historic times.[1] West of the Temenos is the Mycenean cemetery, on ground covered by houses of the town in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., but earlier no doubt outside the town. The narrow graves are cut out of the slate rock, and include one larger grave of a chieftain of the well-known Mycenean type, round grave with dome (Tholos) and a built corridor leading to it (Dromos). Under a late layer, which showed that in historic times it was used for sewerage, remains were found of a Mycenean interment; lance-heads and a bronze sword, remains of ornaments, and about twenty-six stirrup-vases, the perfume jars of that period, of which the best preserved and prettiest deserves to be illustrated for its shape and decoration (fig. 10). In addition to the spout, it has on the top a stirrup—hence the modern name of this vase-shape—practical for putting the fingers or a strap through, and closed by a stopped pipe, which made it easier to tilt out the liquid. That such small vessels, peculiar to the Mycenean period, were used for perfumes was shown by a find at Mycenae itself; in the neck of such a vase was still the old clay plug, and when it was removed there was a sweet fragrance from within, a perfume 3,500 years old, which vanished in a moment. In the vase illustrated, the chief decoration of the body of the vase is the well-known Cretan naturalistic ornament, the cuttle-fish, but it is so far already stylized that the shape rather suggests a palm-tree.

Fig. 10.—Mycenean stirrup-vase from a grave at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, v. 9, fig. 26).

After the overthrow of the Creto-Mycenean great period, with the Dorian migrations, somewhere about 1000 B.C., follows a period of decline, the "Greek Middle Ages,"

[1] Thucyd., i. 10.

when in many respects the development begins over again in decorative art with a primitive Geometric style. Only in Asia Minor relics of the old glory lived on, and there in the halls of free-born and rich chieftains, the first Greek poetry germinated, the Homeric poems, which as to their contents live in the memories of the past great period and the riches and exploits of kings of old. From Homer we come to know the Greeks of the ninth and eighth centuries as a people which in art and art industry, even in Asia Minor, is far below Egypt and the East, and with child-like wonder receives or buys the goods which the Phoenicians, the first trading people of the Orient, bring over

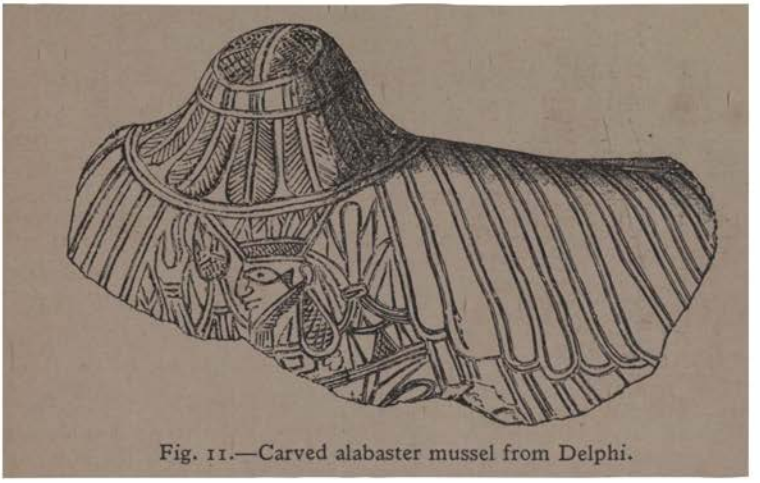

Fig. 11.—Carved alabaster mussel from Delphi.

the wine-dark sea in their quick-sailing barques. Necklaces of gold and amber, which are probably Phoenician, are mentioned,[1] and Achilles sets as a prize to be competed for in the funeral games of Patroclus a silver bowl made at Sidon, and brought over the sea by Phoenician mariners.[2] A similar silver bowl, a gift from the Sidonian king, is the most valuable treasure in the palace of Menelaus.[3]

From the Homeric period too the Delphian finds are rich and illuminating. Geometric sherds have come to light everywhere in the Temenos and in Marmariá,[4] but

[1] *Od.*, xv. 460, and xviii. 296. [2] *Il.*, xxiii. 744.
[3] *Od.*, xv. 115. Cp. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, 170.
[4] Laistner, *Annual of British School at Athens*, xix. 1912–3, 61.

two objects, which illustrate the Phoenician imports described by Homer, are of special interest.

The first of these is shaped like a carved and decorated mussel-shell (fig. 11). Such mussel-shells with carving and incised ornament have been found in the Mediterranean area in places as far apart as Warka and Nimrud in Mesopotamia, the necropolis of Camirus in Rhodes, Naucratis, Etruria, and Spain.[1] The material is generally *Tridacna squamosa*, a mussel which lives in the Red Sea; but the examples found in Spain, though the shell is a land one, correspond with the others in decoration. This, together with the mixed style, in which Egyptian and Assyrian motives are arbitrarily combined, points to Phoenician provenance; and this is confirmed by comparison with a little marble head from Nimrud unmistakably Phoenician, and found in the palace along with objects of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century B.C. If one takes up the fragment found at Delphi, its weight is at once noticeable, and closer investigation shows that it is not a real mussel that has been carved, but an imitation in alabaster. The alabaster itself is not like the kinds employed in Assyria, but is undoubtedly Egyptian alabaster,[2] and it might therefore be supposed that it came, for example, from the Phoenician quarter of Memphis, described by Herodotus (ii. 112), and discovered in Flinders Petrie's excavations.[3] Traces show that the little Delphian alabaster mussel, which is 10 centimetres broad, was ornamented here and there with plates of gold fastened with small bronze pins; for instance, the broad hair-band was gilded. The long locks, which under this spread over the nape, are stylized like feathers, a feature we generally find in Phoenician art and that of Cyprus, which was dependent on it. Under them wings are outspread on both sides; it is therefore a sphinx. Between the wings is an incised scene; between roughly indicated lotus-plants the bust of a man with a feather crown on his head, his eye stylized like a fish, long black hair, and beard without moustache, a genuine Syrian fashion. He raises one hand apparently in greeting, but the position of the fingers

[1] Poulsen, op. cit., 65 ff. [2] v. Bissing, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1912, 222.
[3] Petrie, *Memphis*, i. 3.

shows that this gesture is imitated from the well-known Assyrian motive, the genie, who in his raised hand holds the male flower of the date-palm to fructify the female flower.[1]

Both the real and artificial mussels of this kind were certainly articles of toilet carried far and wide by Phoenician trading voyages, and used by the ladies of the East, Hellas and Etruria, to grind or mix their cosmetics in. In Homer's day every noble lady, not merely the wanton Helen, painted her face. Even Hera rubs an ointment on her face, which, "from the bronze-floored house of Zeus, filled earth and heaven with perfume," when she meditates to lure her lord to love and oblivion on Ida's mountain crest[2]; and before Penelope enters the hall, and modestly appears before the suitors with the fold of her dress raised to her cheek, she has removed every trace of tears from her face by washing and a thick coat of ointment.[3] Penelope in her chamber, assisted by her handmaid Eurynome, as Homer conceived her, comes a little nearer to us in our contemplation of the little Oriental alabaster vessel from Delphi.

This tiny imported article of the Homeric period was found in the Temenos by the Stoa of the Athenians; another equally valuable product of the industrious Phoenician art worker is the bronze bowl found in Marmariá, in which the internal incised relief picture represents the siege of a town (fig. 12). Four archers defend the town wall. To the left an assailant rolls down a ladder, his shield rattling after him, and two men advance, the first drawing his bow, the other with bow and arrows and club in his hands. To the right of the town a man armed with a sword, wearing a pointed helmet shaped like the Egyptian southern crown, essays to clamber up by a ladder leaning against the wall. An arrow hurtles over his head towards a warrior shooting with a bow. Next come an archer and a charioteer on a two-wheeled chariot, to which a sphinx wearing the Egyptian southern crown is harnessed. In this relief the style is predominantly Egyptian; in other parallels it is more Assyrian. This stylistic uncertainty, and the general char-

[1] *Sendschirli*, iv. 359 f.; the fructification of the date-palm is fully described by Theophrastus. Περὶ φυτῶν, ii. 8, 4.
[2] *Il.*, xiv. 171.
[3] *Od.*, xviii. 172.

acter of the representation, in which the artist seems to hesitate and not to feel or fully enter into what he represents, is typical of the art and art industry of the Phoenicians, which, however, in these Homeric times, dominated not only the Greeks, but also the people of Mesopotamia and the Jews. For this was the period in which Solomon's temple was built by Phoenician architects and workmen.

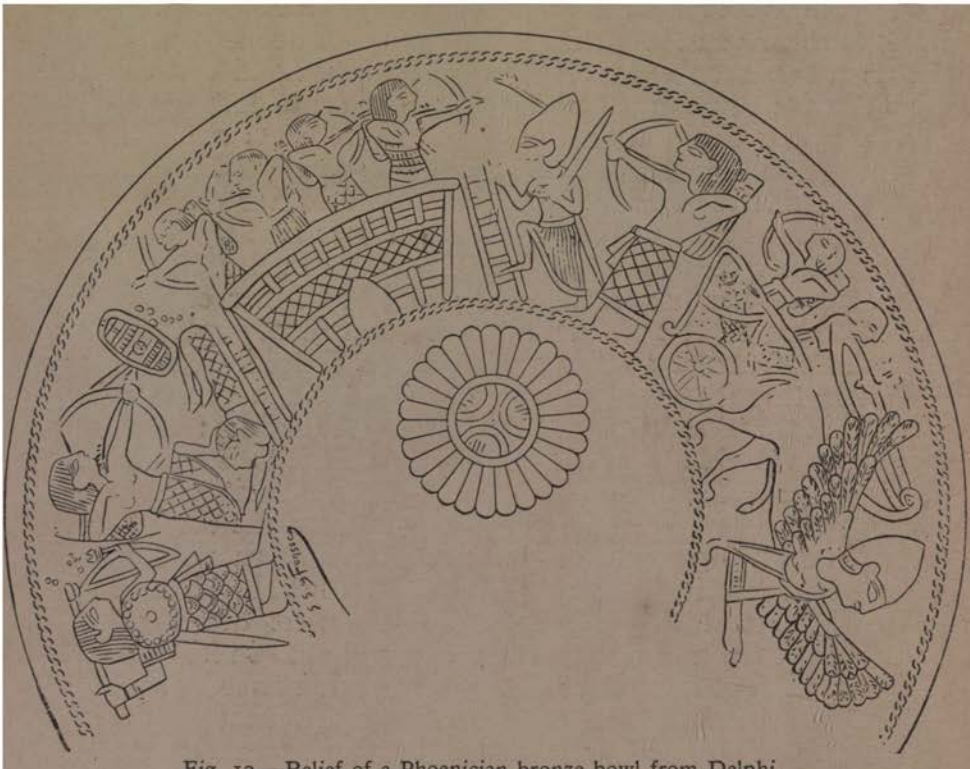

Fig. 12.—Relief of a Phoenician bronze bowl from Delphi.

Bowls of bronze with similar reliefs have been found from Mesopotamia through the Greek islands and Hellas to Etruria, as far as Phoenician trade reached in the ninth and eighth centuries,[1] and we may imagine Homer's heroes drinking their dark wine out of such vessels.

In the seventh century the Hellenes begin to liberate themselves from subservience to the Phoenician-Oriental

[1] Poulsen, op. cit., 6, 37.

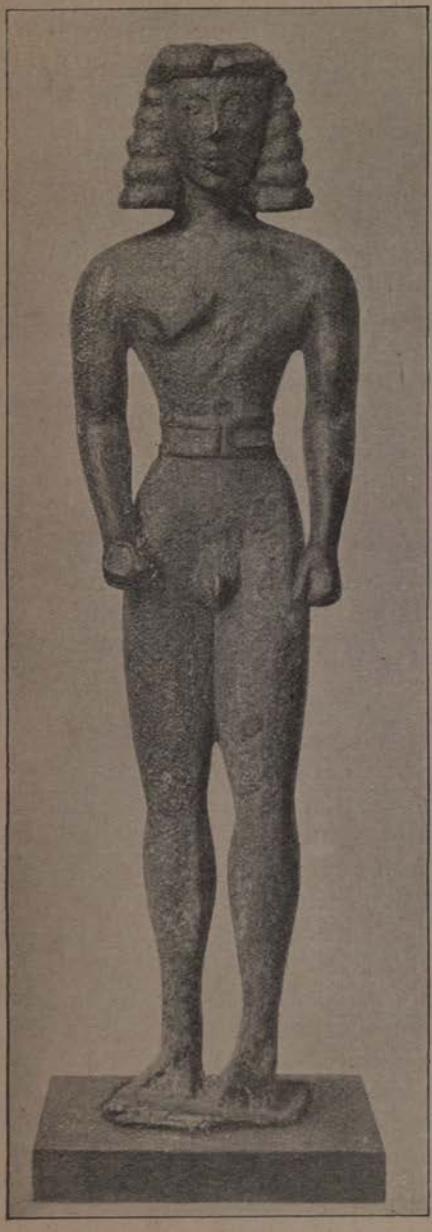

Fig. 13.—Bronze statuette from Delphi.

Fig. 14.—The same in profile.

(*Fouilles de Delphes*, v, plate iii.)

style,[1] just when their trade begins to flourish through colonies and marts from the Black Sea to the South of France, and outdoes the Phoenician. "Orientalism" retains its hold longest on small art, especially the decorations of painted vases; but by the seventh century Greek sculpture has a character of its own, and special forms of expression.

Fig. 15.—Bronze statuette from Boeotia.

A pretty specimen of the first stage of Greek plastic art has been given to us by the earth of Delphi in a bronze statuette of a nude young man (figs. 13, 14). The figure, slightly under 20 centimetres in height, was found outside the Temenos in a layer of sherds of the seventh century B.C., and shows a slim nude youth with a belt about his body and his left leg slightly advanced. Both hands are closely resting on the thighs. The shape of the face is triangular, with pointed chin and flat crown; it is a shape of head we find especially in early Cretan sculpture (cp. below, the Delphian Twins, chapter vi). The hair is a big compact mass divided by horizontal grooves, the so-called "story-wig," which is the chief criterion of most of the sculptures of the seventh century B.C., and originally is a Phoenician fashion.[2] But it is the only Phoenician point about this little figure, in which the Greek conception of form is beginning to appear, in the modelling of the breast muscles, back, and legs. To show the excellence of this figure, one needs merely to set it by the side of a contemporary female figure, a bronze statuette 18 centimetres in height, found in Boeotia (fig. 15). Here the body is wrapped in a quite smooth robe which, without a fold, with its cylindrical wrappings covers all forms except feet and hands. The

[1] Other Phoenician works from Delphi are illustrated in *Fouilles de Delphes*, v. 25, figs. 100–100*a* and plate ii. 2.

[2] Poulsen, op. cit., 137-60.

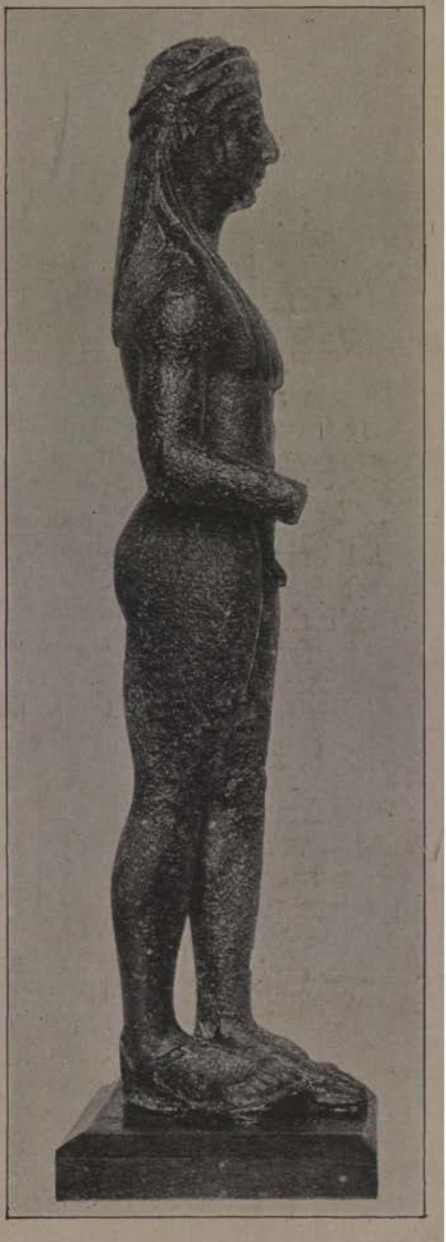

Fig. 16.—Ionic bronze figure from Delphi. Fig. 17.—The same in profile.
(*Fouilles de Delphes*, v, plate iv.)

latter were outstretched and held attributes or offerings. The eyes remind one of the clay lumps of the Mycenean terra-cottas, the nose and mouth are appalling, the eyebrows are raised and hollow, a regular Syrian feature. The hair is divided in Egypto-Phoenician fashion, and the "story-wig" divided by a band as in the Phoenician prototypes. In this little figure the effect of Oriental style is far plainer than in the Delphian bronze, while the Greek modelling is exceedingly rude. But the figure shows us that Greek plastic art really began over again, without influence from Egyptian or decayed Creto-Mycenean tradition.

Crete and Ionic Asia Minor are the two chief seats of early Greek art, and early Ionic sculpture is prettily represented at Delphi by a bronze statuette 41 centimetres in height (figs. 16, 17). The figure, whose left arm, right hand, and plinth are lost, in contrast with the above-mentioned solid bronze statuettes, is executed in hollow-casting (*cire perdue*), and thus is a good example of the new technique, which the Samian artists Rhoecus and Theodorus introduced from Egypt at the beginning of the sixth century. This statuette too represents a nude young man with his left leg advanced, and the weight equally divided on both legs; but the modelling is more uniform over the whole body. The forms are genuinely Ionic, from the egg-shaped formation of the crown, the fat cheeks and chin, and the mouth with drawn-up corners, to the softly rounded, somewhat spongy parts of the body, which form a strange contrast to the athletic character of sculpture of the Greek mainland. This youth, with his drooping round shoulders and his plump round stomach, in which the navel is set deep with a high fold of skin as its upper limit, has not had his muscles hardened and cleaned by exercises in the Palaestra, but shows the traces of Ionic luxury and good living (the notorious Ionic τρυφή). He produces a feminine effect by his big eyes, with an expression of surprise, and the too elaborate coiffure; while, besides the compact back hair and the two long plaits on the breast, one lock on each side winds snake-like over the shoulder, and another has been separated off in front of the ear and delicately glides

towards the prominent chin. He wears, moreover, a necklace with a little amulet or medallion. It is again Orientalism in Greek civilization which is represented in this statuette, but it is no longer the child-like admiration of unsophisticated races and importation or imitation of Oriental trinkets, but a far more dangerous Orientalizing, which was thoroughly appropriated—the Lydian effeminacy, which weakened the Ionians of Asia Minor, and made them the too easily conquered subjects of the Persian Empire a good half-century later.

Are these two Delphian bronze statuettes portraits of the long-haired Apollo himself? This is probably the case, especially with the last with the elegantly dressed hair, which might be a salutation from the temple of Apollo at Didyma to the Delphic sanctuary. One thing is at any rate certain; human likenesses are at this early time still exceedingly rare. The finds of the seventh and early sixth centuries are chiefly composed of fragments of tripods, and their plastic decoration with the bronze heads of griffins or sphinxes. With this superabundance of remains of bronze tripods and bowls the written tradition of antiquity is in excellent agreement. Barbarian kings, like the Phrygian Midas or the Lydians Alyattes and Croesus, do not give Apollo statues either of themselves or of the god, but they set up wine-bowls and holy-water vessels of noble metal with stands of similar material or bronze, and send golden shields, necklaces, belts, thrones, or couches. In his royal citadel at Sardis Croesus burns, as offering to the far-off Delphic god, gold and silver sofas, purple carpets and purple robes, things which at another time he would send. Among the figures in Croesus' presents are named a lion of gold with golden feet, a lad "through whose hands water pours," and a female figure called Croesus' bread-baker, probably only a decorative figure like the lad.[1] Among these numerous gifts, for all of which room could not be found in the temple, so that most of them had to be exhibited in the Treasury of the Corinthians built by the tyrant Cypselus, there is not a single mention of portraits of Apollo, or of the rulers themselves. Nor did the Greeks set up their

[1] Hdt., i. 50-51 and 92.

own statues before the fifth century B.C., when a golden statue of a Macedonian king is mentioned.[1] Euelthon, tyrant of Cyprian Salamis, gives Apollo an incense-bowl.[2] the Hetaera Rhodopis of Naucratis, who enticed Sappho's brother,[3] gives a collection of iron spits (*obeliskoi*), the small change of the period, before the use of coined money became general; and Periclytus of Tenedos gives axes, the larger currency of the period.[4] As in Delphi, so it was elsewhere; the oldest temple offerings at the shrine of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes were, according to Herodotus, three tripods.[5] How numerous tripods in particular were, not only in Apollo's but generally in all Hellenic sanctuaries, is shown with striking plainness by a statement in a Greek military writer of the fourth century B.C.,[6] according to which the Spartans, when the Thebans invaded their territory after the defeat at Leuctra, attempted to block the mountain passes and defiles with barricades built of earth and stone and "tripods from the temples."

All this shows us that the Hellenic delight in portraiture did not become common property of the nation till quite late, and was very slow in influencing the greater temples. The "Greek Middle Age" attached the greatest value to costly sets of plate, weapons, furniture, clothes, ornaments, or the ready money of the period, and therefore regarded them as most appropriate for winning the favour and approval of the gods.

[1] Hdt., viii. 121.
[2] Idem, iv. 162; also exhibited in the Treasury of the Corinthians.
[3] Idem, ii. 135.
[4] Paus., x. 14, 1-4. On the oldest methods of payment see Svoronos, *Journ. intern. numismatique*, 1906. [5] Hdt., v. 59-61. [6] Aeneas Tacticus, 2.

V

THE METOPES OF THE SICYONIAN TREASURY

ABOUT half-way in the first section of the Sacred Way, beyond the two semicircular monuments of the Argives, on the left-hand are the ruins of a little temple *in antis*, i.e., a building with a portico supported by columns, but without an encircling row of columns. On the plan (fig. 7, p. 52) the ruin is marked by the number III. The attribution is, like most at Delphi, based on the text of Pausanias, in which, after enumeration of the first monuments beyond the chief entrance, it is said (x. 11, 1): "Next to the dedication of the Tarentines is the Treasury of the Sicyonians. But valuable articles will not be seen in this or any of the following treasuries." Of the original treasures of the Sicyonian Treasury, before the ravages of Imperial times, we know by description one, the gilded book, with an Epic poem by Aristomache of Erythrae, a poetess who won two victories at the Isthmian games; the book was seen at the beginning of the second century B.C. by the traveller Polemon.[1]

By the sixth century B.C. Sicyon had come to be one of the richest trading and industrial towns of Peloponnese. Its treasury is 8·43 by 6·35 metres, and is entered from the east.[2] In the foundations can be seen blocks from an earlier circular building of poros limestone which

[1] Plut., *Quaest. Conviv.*, v, probl. 2.

[2] Homolle, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xx, 1896, 657 ff.; and *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. 1 (text), 18 ff. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, viii. 455. Basis blocks of the neighbouring dedication of the Tarentines found and illustrated, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 1, plate iii. 3.

had a diameter of 6·20 metres (fig. 18). There has been great controversy as to the assignment of the remains of architecture and sculpture found in and near the building. Homolle originally connected them all with the Treasury. But the German Pomtow maintained that this was chronologically impossible, and assigned the archaic drums, metopes, etc., to a rectangular portico in front of the earlier circular building. This was refuted by the Frenchman Courby, who proved that such a portico had never existed, and that the round building had had no columns or carved metopes.[1] Like Homolle, he referred to the Treasury of the Sicyonians the relief metopes which are our special object of interest. But weighty objections were raised to this reference by the American Dinsmoor,[2] who established the correctness of Pomtow's view, that the Treasury is far later than the sculptures, which, by their style, were executed a little before the middle of the sixth century; on the other hand, the thickness of the foundations, the clamp-holes, and various architectural members permitted the dating of the temple *in antis* to the close of the fifth century B.C. The archaic architectural parts, which included one of the metopes, were found down in the foundation-walls of the Treasury, where they were used as filling. Their earlier date is thus proved; they must have been removed from another building. But which?

After careful investigation Dinsmoor comes to the conclusion that these archaic metopes and column fragments come from the oldest Treasury of the Syracusans, which was north of the Sacred Way, opposite to the Treasury of the Siphnians (see again plan, fig. 7, v). This was pulled down and completely rebuilt at the end of the fifth century B.C. in memory of the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse in 413; and at the rebuilding, part of the old materials may have been used as filling, under the Treasury of the Sicyonians, which was built at the same time. The future will show whether all this will hold good under renewed investigations. The inscriptions of the metopes are in Delphian characters, and give as usual nothing to go by.

[1] Courby, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxxv, 1911, 132 ff., plate iii.
[2] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxxvi, 1912, 444 f., 467 ff.

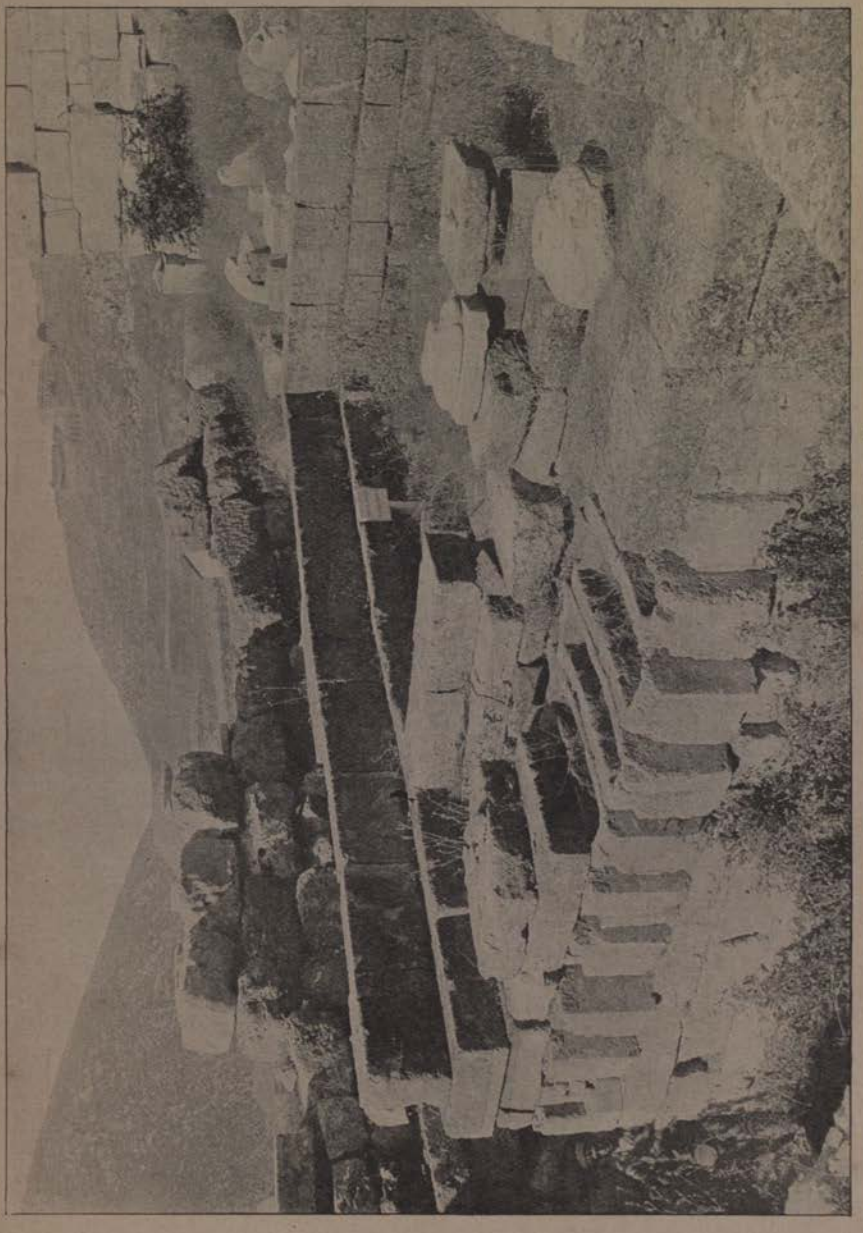

Fig. 18.—Foundation walls of the Sicyonian Treasury.

For the present, to avoid confusion, we will retain the old nomenclature "the Metopes of the Sicyonian Treasury," and not rename them till certainty has been obtained as to their provenance. The original size of the metopes was 90 by 55 centimetres; the very rectangular form is a sign of early archaism, and is met with, e.g., in Sicilian temples. Five slabs and a number of very unimportant fragments

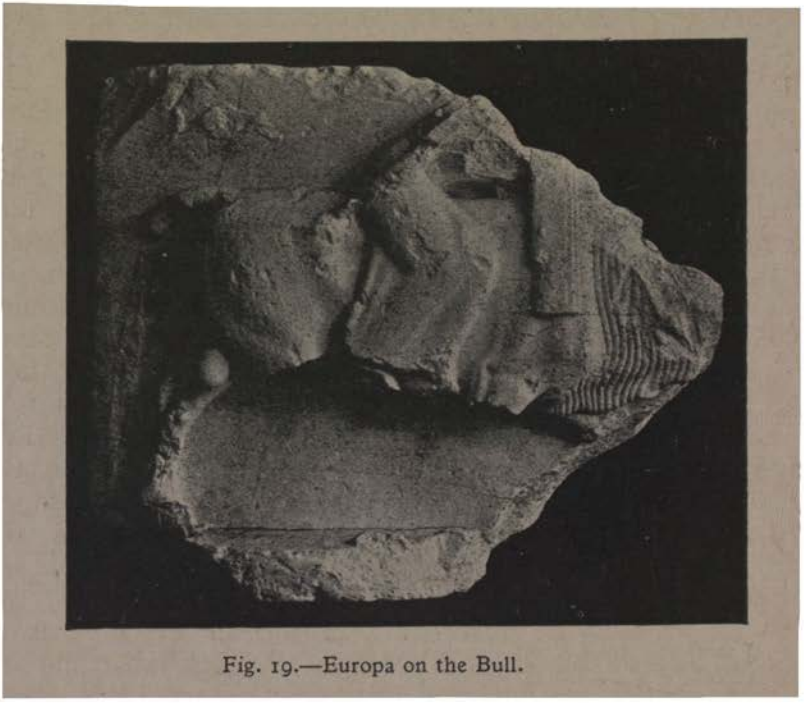

Fig. 19.—Europa on the Bull.

are preserved, the remains, it appears, of twelve metopes; only the four most important metopes will be dealt with.[1]

1. *Europa on the Zeus Bull* (fig. 19).—The motive can be most shortly described in the words of a scholiast to Homer (on *Iliad*, xii. 292): "Zeus saw Europa, the daughter of the Phoenician king, plucking flowers in a meadow with a company of young girls, and fell in love with her; he descended, changed himself into a bull, and breathed perfume from his mouth. So he beguiled Europa, got her on his back, and after having

[1] These four reliefs are illustrated in *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. 1, text 27.

borne her over the sea to Crete, embraced her." The destruction of the metope appears clearly in the illustration. A strongly built bull is seen advancing to the right; its three hoofs rest on the earth, the left fore-leg was, as the muscles in the shoulder show, raised. On the bull's back sits a little female figure bending far forward, her right hand resting on the animal's rump, while her left probably grasped one of the bull's horns. Her head and part of her bust are wanting. On her back is seen faintly the tip of the long pigtail, stylized with big round pearl-like locks. The robe (peplos) is tight-fitting, with a belt round her body, and over the left arm hangs a wrap (chlaina) with perpendicular folds, as it were, cut off below. Over the hind quarters of the bull there is a fractured surface in the relief; probably here one or more flying birds were represented. In the representation of the bull there is the strength and insight of good Greek archaism, in that of the little frightened woman its tender charm. But only by comparing other treatments of the same motive can we understand how high a level of art is attained. In the oldest representation of Europa on the bull, a primitive, mechanically executed clay-relief of the beginning of the seventh century, the bull is represented in wild career and Europa leans upon its neck.[1] In contemporary and somewhat later gems, and on black-figured vase paintings of the sixth century, she hovers in horizontal position over the bull's back, but soon it becomes the universal rule—on an archaic coin of Gortyn, and on black- and red-figured vases—that she sits stiff and straight in her long peplos with both arms resting on the bull's back; but there are cases where she raises her arms, with cries of woe, to heaven.[2]

Almost worse than these schematic representations is the finely drawn picture of a fine polychrome Munich vase, which is about a century later than our relief; in this Europa holds her head high and contemplates a flower, which she raises

[1] *Mélanges Perrot*, 298, fig. 1.

[2] Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, i, plates vi. 63, and viii. 58; Otto Jahn, *Die Entführung der Europa, Denkschriften der philos.-hist. Classe der kais. Akad. der Wissensch. in Wien*, xix, 1870, plates *ib*, viii*d*, iv*b*; S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases*, i. 478; Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, ii, plate xc. The cry of woe with uplifted hands, which is so inappropriate to riding on an animal, has its parallel in poetry, in the second *Idyll* of Moschus, where she stretches back her arms to her playfellows on the shore.

with coquettish affectation (fig. 20).[1] To this apathy on the part of the female victim answers a Zeus bull, which is most like a gadding calf. The motive of Europa looking at a flower we find on a hydria from Caere in the Louvre, and it is truly Ionic in its lack of ethical content.[2] On another hydria of the same class (fig. 21), and so belonging to the middle of the sixth century, the bull is represented at full gallop,

Fig. 20.—Polychrome cylix in Munich.

and surrounded by fish, dolphins, and sea-birds, while a flying Nike brings two wreaths. Europa is then out in mid-sea, and seems much taken up with the difficulty of keeping her balance; however, there is no holding on by the horns or terrified bending over as in the almost con-

[1] Jahn, op. cit., plate vii, from which our illustration is taken. The vase is now more prettily reproduced in Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, ii, plate 114; but several parts of the vase have disappeared since Jahn's time.

[2] *Monumenti*, vi–vii, plate 77.

Fig. 21.—Caere hydria in the Louvre.

temporary Sicyonian relief.[1] Specially instructive is the comparison with a metope from Selinus, which also, by its style, belongs to the second quarter of the sixth century, and shows the influence of Cretan archaism (fig. 22).[2]

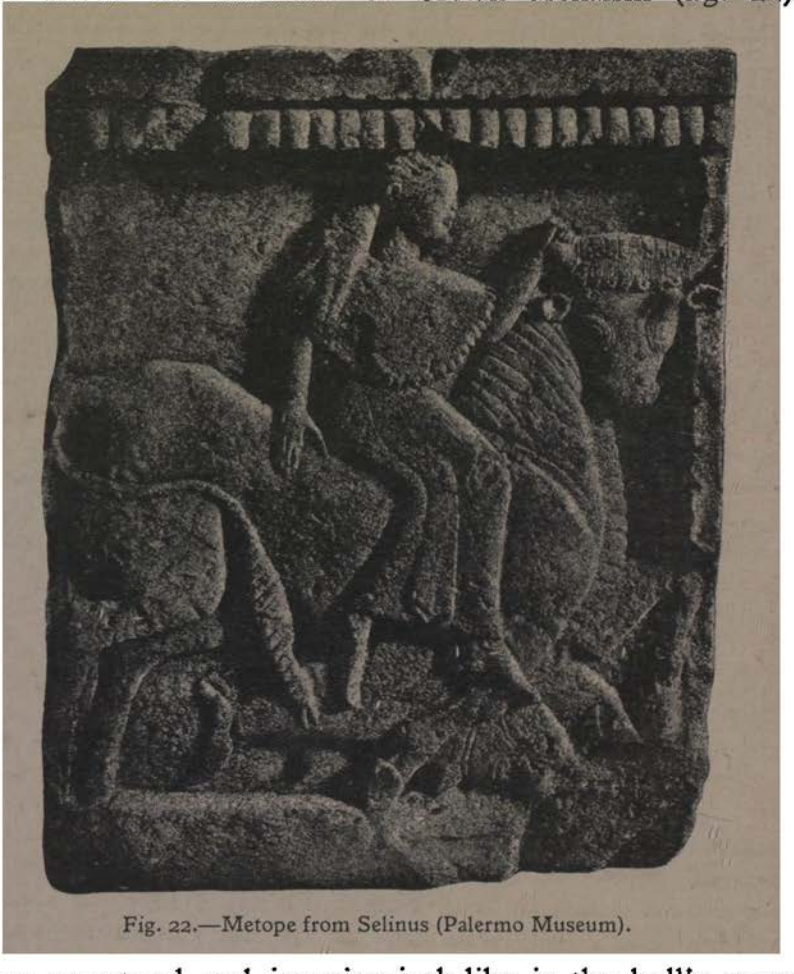

Fig. 22.—Metope from Selinus (Palermo Museum).

How unnatural and jumping-jack-like is the bull's movement, how little its anatomy is understood, how wrongly rendered are the details of the head and neck! The dolphins under the bull's body suggest swimming, which, as usual, is

[1] Otto Jahn, op. cit., plate va.

[2] *Monumenti antichi dei Lincei*, i, plate i; Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, viii. 489, fig. 248.

characterized as a walk or gallop. Europa, clad in peplos with a single centre-fold and a cape with notched edge, sits quite straight, has grasped one horn, and lightly rests her right hand on the animal's back.

The first thing that delights the eye, when we return to the Delphian metope (fig. 19), is the freedom from *horror vacui*; there is no over-filling of the surfaces, no dolphins under the animal's belly, and the sea-birds to the left have been small and sketchy in the picture. So it is with the animal itself. We note the splendid drawing of the fore-leg and the union of the shoulders with the powerful body; moreover the finely folded dewlap, just as one sees it day by day in the South, where bulls live freely out at grass. How weighty is the animal's pace, equally removed from galloping and dawdling, heavily striding forward like a force of nature! He was a first-rate connoisseur of animals, who chiselled out this bull. Not less of an achievement is the representation of the little timid woman, who, bending over, clings to his horn, keeps close to his back, while the big fold of the wrap on her arm, with its quiet verticalism, brings out the curved lines of the slender body. This effect is most prominent when the metope is seen from below; the composition is designed to be seen at a height. With an astonishing ability for its early date, the body is modelled under the tight-fitting dress, especially the legs, which are correctly indicated under the material.

Considerable remains of colour are preserved on this metope. The background, as in the other metopes and those of the oldest temples of Selinus, is uncoloured, and had the original white or yellow hue of the stone; in the later temple metopes of Selinus and in the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, as we shall see, the ground, on which the figures stand out, is painted deep blue. There is thus in Greek relief the same development as in contemporary vase-painting. In the middle of the sixth century highly polychrome figures, with prominent black and dark red colours, stand out from the neutral lighter surface of the limestone, as the figures of black-figured vases with white and red detail are silhouetted against the natural yellow or yellowish-red ground of the clay. Later on, about 520 B.C., as in the

red-figured vases so in relief, light or red figures are set off against a dark background. In poetry the recollection of the old technique is retained in comparisons, as when Pindar, by a poem, will "set up a memorial-stone whiter than Parian marble."[1] On Europa's peplos there are traces of dark red colour, and its surface is adorned with fine borders in incised geometric patterns, which remind us of the peplos-patterns on the François vase. These incisions are directions to the painter to vary the colours;

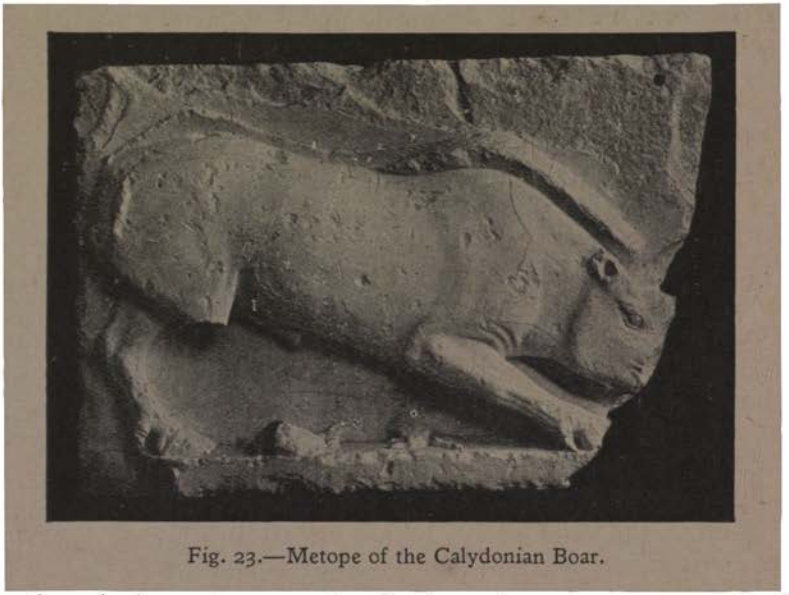

Fig. 23.—Metope of the Calydonian Boar.

on the dark red ground of the dress were originally motley, parti-coloured perpendicular borders and fringes, and on the folded wrap there is also an incised border.[2] The colouring of the bull is gone; it was probably black. Europa's pearl locks serve to date this metope; that fashion of hair-dressing belongs to the middle of the sixth century B.C.[3]

2. *The Calydonian Boar* (fig. 23).—This animal representation is also a first-rate specimen of early Greek art. It is the boar famed in legend "which devastated vineyards with its tusk, and killed cattle and every living creature that

[1] *Nem.*, iv. 81.
[2] This pattern is reproduced in *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. 1, text 24, fig. 13.
[3] F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, 155.

came in its way, with which the greatest heroes of Hellas had to fight a hard battle for six successive days" (Bacchylides). So it does not surprise one that the powerful creature fills a whole metope; for merely one poor little dog from the attacking party, as a trace under his belly shows, shared the field, where it served to bring out the size of the monster. Whether its antagonists, the attacking heroes, advanced against it on the next metope, or the boar had no opponents, as seems to have been the case on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae,[1] cannot be made out. Single figures from mythological battles are known in early Greek art. We see, for example, the flying Gorgons and beheaded Medusa on the early Attic Nessos vase, while Perseus, their opponent, is wanting.[2]

Over a diminutive dog, which, feebly barking, sets its fore-paws on one of its opponent's hind hoofs, the boar has advanced, and stands with lowered head, and probably also with exposed tusks, ready to meet the attack. Along its back rise bristles to left, in front a broader, behind a narrower, fringe, edged on the back part by a hatched layer of hair, which reaches from the middle of the back to the root of the tail. On the rump is seen a fragment of the tail. The creature's sex is strongly emphasized, and the modelling of the body is masterly; the hard hide wrinkled in thick folds encloses a heavy bone formation and tight sides. Specially expressive are the sinews of the legs, the hoofs with the fine hair over them, and the three deep folds of hide over the fore-legs. There is here none of the superficial drawing with which archaic artists often avoid difficulties or simplify by stylization, e.g., of the shoulder muscles. Where the artist does stylize, it is with great effect, as in the folds of skin round the eye which give the expression its "terribilitá." Here is the beginning of the masterly treatment which is later to be found in the best Greek portrait sculpture and animal representation, the individualization of the expression by modelling of the parts round the eye. Of this boar, one can believe that its tears burn in the heat of battle, as ancient physiologists

[1] Paus., iii. 18, 15.

[2] *Antike Denkmäler*, i, plate 57.

supposed [1]; its counterpart, the timid stag, with the ice-cold tears, we shall meet in one of the pediments of the temple of Apollo.[2] There is specially careful rendering of detail in the under-jaw; but if one wants to realize the beautiful pride in workmanship of early Greek art, one must stand in front of the animal's forehead in the Museum at Delphi, and see the hair worked into the background of the relief, far beyond the point to which the eye of the observer reached when the metope was in its place in the frieze. On the spot one can also admire other animal representations from this Treasury: the head of a horse, with elegant expressive folds in the neck; the fragment of a ram's body, with remains of red colour on each tuft of wool, and a hand with bracelet, and the trace of a small woman's body, on its back; plainly, therefore, Helle on the ram. But the fragments of this metope are so much destroyed and so small that no impression of them can be given by illustrations and descriptions.

3. *Orpheus on Board the "Argo"* (fig. 24).—The metope had been broken into four fragments, which could be put together in pairs with a slight gap between the two halves. On a slab to the left is seen a rider, whose horse is foreshortened in front view, and the prow of a ship with three boarding-pikes (δόρατα ναύμαχα) and a broken beak. On the other larger slab the ship is continued, decorated with three round shields, under which the semicircular oar-holes are indicated. On the extreme right the ship is also flanked by a rider, who has suffered more severely than his counterpart. On board the ship two men are standing, one beardless, the other with beard on his chin; the weathering of the stone has destroyed their faces entirely. They are dressed in peplos-like undercoats with belts, and over them capes fastened on the right shoulder and reaching to the knee, which, like Europa's peplos, have incised borders. The two men both hold in their left hands musical instruments, hung round their necks by a cord, and in the right hand the plectrum attached in Greek fashion to the cithara, the

[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Natur.*, 20 (917).

[2] See fig. 59; cp. the deer's head in the Artemis-Iphigeneia group in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, and in the same place the modelling of a dog's face, 238*b*.

strings of which were given by painting. Remains of red colour are found on the prow, clothes, and shields.[1]

On the background by the head of the singer to right can be read the inscription "Orphas." The other painted inscriptions are more doubtful. But the name Orpheus leads us to the interpretation; the ship which has Orpheus on board can only be the Argo. The Epic of Apollonius Rhodius,[2] which is based on old sources, describes how Orpheus accompanies the Argonauts, sings before the heroes, so that the ship sails by his singing, while fish come

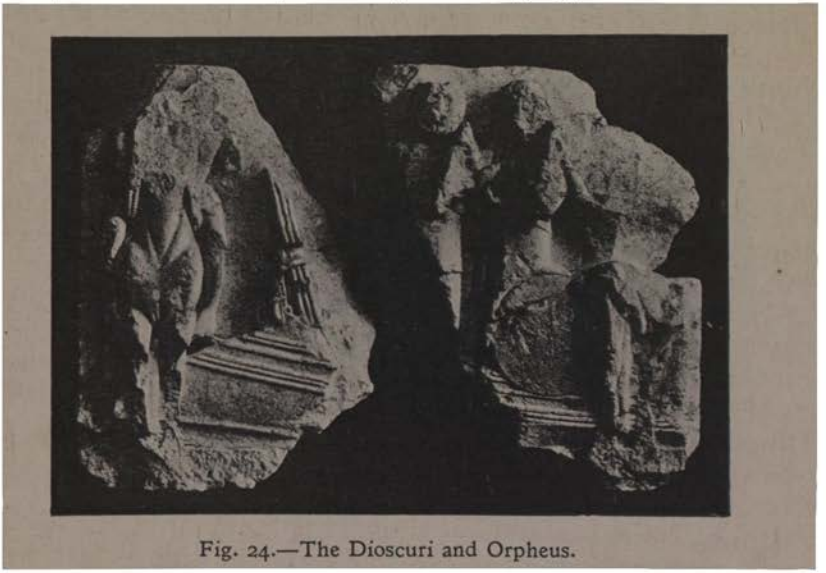

Fig. 24.—The Dioscuri and Orpheus.

up from the depths to listen; it is Orpheus's playing and singing which save the Argonauts from becoming a prey to the Sirens. On the metope one sees the two riders bend listening in the direction of the ship; whether they are the Dioscuri, who are similarly connected with the Argonautic legend, may be left uncertain. Nor do we know who the singer by Orpheus's side is. There is a certain obscurity about the motives of this metope, the listening riders and

[1] The red shields make the otherwise doubtful reading possible in Bacchylides, viii. 9: *φοινικάσπιδες ἡμίθεοι*.

[2] Cp. for Orpheus, Ap. Rh. i. 23 ff., with Scholia, i. 494 ff., 540, 569 ff., ii. 705 ff., iv. 905.

the ship with singers on board.[1] Our knowledge of Greek myths is much too fragmentary.

From the artistic point of view, the two foreshortened horses, whose pearl locks show they are of the same period as the Europa metope, are of the greatest interest. Contemporary vase-painters also experiment with the problem of giving a front view of a quadriga; and in relief it is attempted in a metope of Temple C, at Selinus; in free sculpture we have it in two groups, one smaller from the middle, one larger from the end, of the sixth century B.C., of which fragments were found on the Acropolis at Athens, which perhaps served to decorate small pediments.[2] The attempt is thus in the spirit of the age; naturally the artist was unequal to the task; the horses are as it were folded together, and hind-legs and tail hang forward between the fore-legs. But the courage with which the attempt is made evokes our respect, and the artist's competence in representing animals is evinced again in this metope in the left horse, whose chest is finely and feelingly modelled. The posture of the corsleted rider is also noticeable, in that he sits sideways, and, as already stated, bends towards the central group with a deviation from frontality which is surprising in archaic art.

4. *The Dioscuri and Apharidae with the Plundered Cattle* (fig. 25).—In spite of the great destruction of the relief, we can make out three male figures moving to the right; there is room enough for a fourth, as about 20 centimetres of the slab are wanting on the left. The three men are walking in step with the left foot advanced, and each carries in his left hand two spears resting on the shoulder. In the right hand lowered each holds two spears in horizontal position, which, running parallel in double row, keep the bulls in check and intersect their snouts, so that they appear to be provided with modern halters. All have the same costume: a chlamys, fastened on the right shoulder and open at the side, so that part of the nude body with waist-belt is visible. The chlamys, whose surfaces are oddly broken by the ears

[1] The conception of the Argo as the ship with the singing youths on board is found in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 89.

[2] Perrot-Chipiez, viii. 485, fig. 245; Dickins' *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, 55 and 144 ff.

and horns of the bulls, is dark red with incised patterns. On their feet they wear pretty sandals with laces and front-flap. The long pigtails in two cases have the pearl necklace form, in the other they are grooved. The two in front have their heads in profile, the third looks out of the relief. Only in the case of the central figure is the face at all preserved; it has a thin-lipped, slightly raised mouth, the lines of which meet a downward cheek-fold, the eye has

Fig. 25.—The Dioscuri and Apharidae.

long lids, the cheek is quite smooth, very little arched, with sharply bounded lower jaw. But all this can only be seen in the original.

In the intervals between the walking men and in front of the first, bulls are advancing by threes, the two hindmost in each group with heads in profile, the front with its small head turned round. To secure distinctness, the inside bulls are larger, a defiance of perspective which is known in primitive art, both in archaic Greek reliefs and in Siennese

painting. The hair about the horns and the skin-folds of the eye are elegantly stylized. The effect of this metope is quite peculiar, one is tempted to say un-Greek. Men and animals are closely packed together, not with primitive *horror vacui*, but in conscious aiming at massed effect. The men, in heavy smooth cloaks, whose red surfaces were in picturesque contrast with the bare, little-articulated legs, which below are finished off by the large sandals with their material well brought out; and the bulls, which are too far in the background to make any other effect than that of thickly packed crowds, whose heads are so monotonously stylized in big features to be effective at a distance, appear, to one who knows the other metopes, as creations of a different world of art. For there is in this little relief some of the stiff stereotyped formalism of the East, but at the same time some of the vigour of the East, in that the detail is not disconnected with the movement or the type, but co-operates in a wonderfully expressive whole. If, as the workmanship might well indicate, it is really the same artist who executed all the metopes of the little Sicyonian Treasury, this gives us an insight into the nature of a nameless artist of rich luxuriance and amazing suppleness in the solution of different problems in a different but equally effective treatment. What a contrast between the little slender frightened woman, alone and bending over the heavily marching bull, between the solitary and formidable vigour of the Calydonian Boar, and this last metope, where bristling lances slope over thick, uniformly shaped and coloured groups of men and animals!

The painted inscriptions inform us that the relief represented the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, and the sons of Aphareus, Idas and Lynceus, the last-named not being preserved in the relief. The four men had in concert, as was then the custom of princes, made a raid on other people's oxen, and in the metope they are driving them away from the Arcadian highlands where they had grazed. The legend, which had already been treated in the Cypria, but reached its fairest development in Pindar's tenth *Nemean Ode*, tells the sequel as follows: "The Dioscuri had the same mother, Leda, but Polydeuces was begotten by Zeus, while

Castor was the son of Tyndareus. But they loved one another and were inseparable companions. After the cattle raid they had a quarrel with the Apharidae, and laid an ambush in a hollow trunk; but Lynceus, who had the sharpest sight of all mortals, saw them from the peak of Taygetus and hurried thither with his brother. Together they slew Castor, but Polydeuces hastened to meet them and there was a hard struggle. The Apharidae pulled the grave-stone off their father's grave and threw it at Polydeuces' chest; but he swerved and did not reel; with a leap he drove his spear through Lynceus's side, and at the same moment Zeus hurled his lightning-flash at Idas and annihilated him. After the battle Polydeuces hurried back and, sobbing, threw himself over his brother, who was still breathing. Lovingly he prays Zeus that he might die with his brother and companion: for honour and strength are gone from the man who has lost his friends. Zeus replies: 'Thou art my son, while he was of mortal seed. Well, I give thee choice: thou canst have the glory of heaven without death and old age together with Athena and Ares; but if thy heart is wedded to thy brother, and thou wilt share all with him, thou shalt dwell half thy time in the bowels of the earth, and only the other half in the golden citadel of heaven.' So ran the word of Zeus, but without delay Polydeuces makes his choice; then Zeus opened Castor's dim eyes, and gave him back eyesight and speech."

VI

THE DELPHIAN TWINS

DURING the excavations in the spring of 1893 an archaic marble statue came to light close to the Treasury of the Athenians (the building which is restored and is to be seen in fig. 5 in the middle of the Temenos, and which we shall treat of in chapter x), and in the autumn of the same year was found the base with inscription belonging to it. Next spring, again, a twin brother of this statue was excavated, of which only the torso and fragments of the legs remained; parts of the plinth of this second statue were not found till quite fifteen years later.[1]

So exactly do these twin statues correspond that it is sufficient to represent and describe the best preserved (fig. 26). Formerly nude archaic male statues were indiscriminately designated as Apollos; now they are more correctly described as "Kouroi," the Greek word for youths. The type was employed for representations both of gods and men. The figure, 2·16 metres in height, is of one piece with the base, which is rectangular in shape, and follows the outside edges of the feet. Such a base, wrought out of the same block as the statue, was called σφέλας, as is proved by the inscription on the colossal Apollo at Delos; and it is a base of this sort that Pindar is thinking of when he says[2]: "I am no sculptor, and do not prepare statues, standing immovable on their bases" (ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος). The figure is executed in Greek island marble, and only the feet and ankles have had to be restored in plaster. The small injuries on the

[1] Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. 1, text 5 ff., and plates i, ii; Perrot-Chipiez, viii. 452, and plates ix, x.

[2] *Nem.*, v. 1.

abdomen, right hand, nose, and forehead locks are shown in the illustration.

The young beardless man is standing in the usual archaic

Fig. 26.—One of the Delphian Twins.

Fig. 27.—The same in profile.

frontal position with raised head, clenched hands pressed against his thighs, so that the thumbs turn outwards, and ponderously advancing his left leg, an attitude inherited from Egyptian sculpture. His physical structure is unusually

heavy, the shoulders are powerful, and the narrowing of the waist comparatively small. The too short arms are not, as is usually the case, set close to the body throughout their length, but are drawn back and bent at the elbows (fig. 27), an attitude of the arms which gives the figure a certain elasticity, so that the swelling of the delta and biceps muscles and the stretching of the knee-caps seems more natural and effective than in the " Kouroi " whose arms hang down in a lifeless way. While the epigastrium, with its anchor-like drawing of the " alba linea " over the navel, and the outline of the ribs, is conventional, while the junction of the lower body and the heavy legs is faulty, as usual in archaic art, and while the incised rendering of the taut muscles of the lower arms and legs is not without a certain dryness, the treatment of the shoulders and breast is excellent considering the early style of the figure; this is the oldest Kouros who actually breathes, to such an extent are the fleshy breast muscles raised. The hair of the pubes, which is so often wanting in archaic figures of youths, and usually was only rendered in colour, is prettily stylized, and enclosed in a triangle. The flat navel has, as often in this period, the shape of an eye. The back is finely rendered with heavy almost correct shoulder-blades and taut muscles parallel with the spine. In the spine itself, the elastic vigour of the figure is brilliantly emphasized. The walking posture with the left leg advanced is, as indicated above, borrowed from Egyptian sculpture, where it is almost an invariable rule; even in archaic female figures it is almost always the left leg which is advanced, while in Greek art of the fifth century a reaction sets in [1]; first the right leg is advanced, then it becomes what the Germans call " Spielbein," the leg which is not loaded with the weight of the body, and can move freely. In the Doryphorus of Polyclitus, the weight is again thrown forward over the right leg (" Standbein "), and now the left leg is movable and not set forward, but back in a new walking posture. The reason for this return to the archaic arrangement, in which the right leg is the source of motion and the left is moved, is given in one of Aristotle's scientific

[1] Deonna, *Les Apollons archaïques*, 25 f.

works [1]: "It is the task of the right side to begin the movement, of the left to suffer itself to be moved. Therefore burdens are best borne on the right shoulder, and people begin to move, with the left leg forward, and come to a stop with the left foot advanced. For movement comes from the leg they stand on and not from that which is set forward."

Whether right or wrong, these observations show the close connexion between artistic and scientific problems in ancient Hellas. Whether observations from life, or of the posture in art inherited from the Egyptians, are the basis of Aristotle's remarks, or whether a similar conscious reflection is behind Polyclitus' famous figure, this, and much besides, can hardly be answered, but one can only point to the remarkable agreement.

The face of the Delphian youth is marked by fullness and healthy vigour. The mouth has no smile. The eyes have heavy brows, plastically executed, and the upper eyelid is closed by a furrow and a fold, which make possible a twinkle of the big wide-open eyes, something quite unusual in so early a period of art. The position of the ears is more correct than is usual in contemporary "Kouroi," in whom they are generally placed too high. Over the low flat forehead the locks are treated in spiral knots, the hair on the back and the neck is divided into squares, and the squares grooved with incised lines. Two double fillets hold together the mass of hair on the neck, and these end in six lock-tips fastened by clasps (ἕλικες). Behind the ears the mass of hair is divided, and three plaits fall down on the breast on each side, finished off with similar fastenings. Fine metal spirals for this purpose have been found at Delphi, and are often discovered in ancient graves of Greece and Italy. The whole mode of dressing the hair is early Cretan; its beginning can be pointed out in Crete by the seventh century B.C.[2] With this corresponds the slope of the head with its flat crown, a feature borrowed by Peloponnesian sculpture from Crete.

On the well-preserved basis of the statue Homolle deciphered the artist's signature as follows: ". . . medes the Argive executed me." The name cannot be Polymedes,

[1] *De incessu animalium*, 4 (706*a*).
[2] Fr. Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 164, where the necessary literature is to be found.

for there are only traces of and room for two or three letters in the beginning of the name. But it is an Argive artist who produced the Delphian twins, and in view of the heavy build of the figures, it is quite natural that he should be a forerunner of the Argive Polyclitus, who more than one hundred years later created the vigorous Dorian male ideal in art. The connexion of Argos with the artistic tradition of Crete is handed down to us in literature in the accounts of the two Daedalids, Dipoenus and Scyllis, who lived about 570 B.C. and migrated to Argos. That explains the Cretan mode of hair-dressing in the Argive twins.

From the same period, the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., we have a female figure, found at Tegea in the Peloponnese, with a head of hair that corresponds exactly; now, according to the tradition, a third artist of the Cretan school of Daedalus, Cheirisophus, migrated to Tegea.[1] A Cretan wooden statue in Delphi, described by Pindar[2] probably belonged to the same school, which, in the first half of the sixth century, exercised a considerable influence on the Peloponnesian and especially the Argive sculptors. Even overseas, in Ionic Asia Minor, honourable commissions were given in those times to Cretan artists. Thus it was that two Cretan architects, Chersiphron and Metagenes, superintended the construction of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus in its first form at the beginning of the sixth century.[3]

But what do the Delphian twins represent? Homolle had tentatively suggested the names of Cleobis and Biton, but this hypothesis found no particular favour. Herodotus gives us the following story about them (i. 31 ff.): When Croesus in Sardis asks Solon whom he regards as the happiest of his contemporaries, to the annoyance of the king the sage names not himself, but the Athenian Tellus, and next to him Cleobis and Biton, sons of the priestess of Hera at Argos. These young men, when one day the animals for her carriage were not forthcoming and she was in danger of being too late for the festival, harnessed themselves to the vehicle and drew their mother all the forty-five

[1] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 321–7 and 345. Statue from Tegea, Perrot-Chipiez, viii. 430 f. and figs. 210–11. [2] *Pyth.*, v. 40.
[3] H. Brunn, *Geschichte der griech. Künstler*, 26.

stades to the Heraeum. When their mother, in gratitude, prayed the goddess to give her sons the best gift she knew of, Hera caused the two youths, who had lain down to sleep in the temple, to die a painless death in their sleep. Herodotus adds: "The Argives had statues of them made and set them up at Delphi, because they had been excellent men."

The conversation between Solon and Croesus is a fable, and impossible on chronological grounds alone; but the story of Cleobis and Biton is in any case aetiological—i.e., it is based on an actual group at Delphi which Herodotus saw. So Homolle's hypothesis was not improbable: the date of the execution of the Delphic twins corresponds with Solon's lifetime; they were the work of a sculptor of Argos, the native town of the young men, and finally they were two in number and exactly alike, both in build and movements, as is rarely the case in Greek sculpture. The discovery of the plinth of the second figure, and a fresh reading of the indistinct inscriptions on this and the one previously found with the artist's signature, made it possible for the Austrian von Premerstein to prove the correctness of the hypothesis referred to (fig. 28).[1] On the edge of the lower plinth in fig. 28, written from right to left, is the above-mentioned artist's inscription. Along the edge of the second plinth is found the conclusion of an inscription, which is continued between the feet of the figure on the lower plinth, and the following words can be read with some certainty: ". . . ton the sons conducted their mother." If one inserts before this

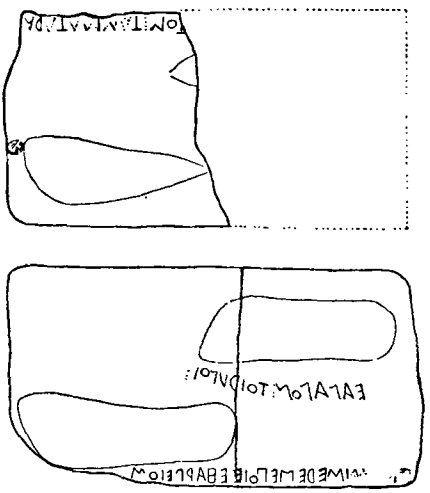

Fig. 28.—Inscribed bases of the Twins.

[1] *Oesterreichische Jahreshefte*, xiii, 1910, 41 ff.; a more correct reading in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 5.

the remainder of the names Cleobis and Biton, one recovers the inscription, which is the foundation of the legend. The main inscription, with dedication to Apollo, was probably placed in front on a base common to both figures. This much in any case is true, that the two youths showed their strength and filial piety by drawing at full speed the heavy carriage from Argos to the Heraeum, and therefore the city put up this memorial of them at Delphi. Probably the Delphic guides invented later the pious story of their gentle death in full vigour of youth. It is possible that a representation of the carriage also formed part of the group, on a separate plinth, and then we can better understand the energetic posture of the arms with bent elbows in both figures, if they were represented drawing the carriage.

Thus Herodotus long ago stood face to face with these Delphian twins and listened to their story, and drew out of their forms and aspect his melancholy view of the happiness of dying young. Involuntarily we wonder that the youth, which in the sentimental myth blooms and dies, is not more tender, graceful, and touching. But the Greek spectator was certainly satisfied in seeing in the statues of Cleobis and Biton the bold, proud male ideal expressed which the poet Simonides so vigorously characterized in his lines: "It is difficult to become a good man, four-square in arms and legs and mind."[1]

[1] For τετράγωνος see Jul. Lange's quite correct treatment in *Billedkunstens Fremstilling af Menneskeskikkelsen*, i. 262 (378).

VII

THE NAXIAN SPHINX

DIRECTLY south of the middle of the great polygonal wall which bounds the southern terrace of the temple of Apollo, lies a little group of small rocks, the largest of which is the rock of the Sibyl (see plan, fig. 7). Pausanias says of it (x. 10, 12): "Above the earth rises a rock, on which it is related that the first Sibyl took her position, and gave warnings in song," and adds an outline of the history of the Sibyls. To the north, only two metres from the polygonal wall, is a smaller rock, which supported a big Ionic column, surmounted by a seated sphinx of marble. The base of the column was found in 1861, with a complimentary decree for the inhabitants of the island of Naxos carved on it, and at the same time the Ionic capital and the lion body of the Sphinx in three fragments were excavated. But an earthquake in 1870 covered all up again, and they had to be uncovered afresh in 1893. Then the head, wings, and feet of the Sphinx and parts of the column drums were found and collected (fig. 29).[1]

On a column about ten metres high, of markedly archaic detail of form, sits the fabulous creature, carved out of one piece with a plinth, which exactly fits a depression in the upper surface of the capital.[2] The figure (fig. 30) is of large-grained Naxian marble, and measures 2·32 metres from the feet to the wing-tips. It is, as invariably in Greek art, a female Sphinx,[3] and is seated on its hams. Nose, mouth, and chin are somewhat damaged, the tail is almost entirely destroyed,

[1] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1897, 585 ff.; Perrot-Chipiez, vii. 631 f. and plates liv and viii, 392 ff.; Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, text, 41 ff., plates v, vi.

[2] Illustrations in Springer, *Kunstgeschichte*, i, 10th ed., Wolters, 176, fig. 342.

[3] For the sex of the Sphinx in Egypt, the East and Hellas, see Ilberg in Roscher's *Lexikon der Mythologie*, s.v. Sphinx, 1357.

Fig. 29.—The pillar and sphinx of the Naxians.

and the centre of the wings and parts of the paws are restored in plaster.

The style is early archaic. In the oval face, the eye-opening is of quite triangular shape, and the tresses of hair, which fall down at the sides, are stylized with big pearls: these two features, along with the sickle-shaped wings, date the figure to the period before 550 B.C. The cheeks are well modelled with emphasized cheek-bones, and deep furrows where they meet the upper lip; which throws a deep and effective shadow over the mouth with its straight, narrow lips. When it is viewed in front, a gracious smile seems actually to hover over the lower part of the face. The ears are at the right height, but too close to the head. The hair along the forehead is confined by a narrow fillet, tied on the nape, and is stylized with a row of semicircles: the hair on the crown is almost chequered. In profile view it has a very ugly effect, that the cheeks and neck pass into one another without transition. On the other hand, the sickle-shaped wings successfully

remove the tiresome triangular effect which without them the animal body would have presented.

The feathered breast of the figure shows that the artist was subject to Ionic influence; the Cretan Sphinxes always have smooth breasts, those of Ionia are feathered or scaly.[1] The lion body is slim and dry, with the ribs tightly stretched under the skin. On the other hand, the limbs are heavy, as also the shoulders and thighs.

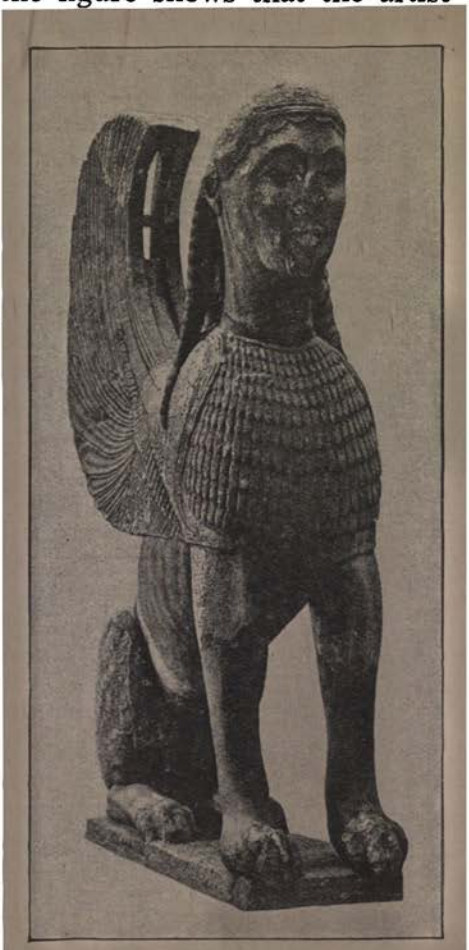

Fig. 30.—The Naxian Sphinx (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate v).

That this Sphinx really came from Naxos, and was executed there, is proved not only by the material and the inscription, but is also the result of a comparison with a series of marble lions found on the island of Delos, where they stood on a terrace by the sacred lake.[2] Though the Sphinx is sometimes endued with prophetic qualities in Greek speculative mythology, and brought into connexion with the Sibyls, there is probably no deep meaning in the erection of a Sphinx on a high column close to the rock of the Sibyl. The Sphinx was so decorative a creature of legend that the Greeks could employ it anywhere and everywhere. Here it stood high over the road

[1] Roscher, 1359; Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 103; Löwy, *Oest. Jahresh.*, xii, 1909, 260 ff.

[2] Leroux, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1908, i. 177 ff.

as a mark, a vigorous bit of decorative sculpture like the lion of St. Mark at Venice.

We can only guess at its original effect. It is conceived and executed not only in form, but also in colour. Alternate colours emphasized eyes, lips, and hair, differentiated each feather in the down of the breast and in the big wings, covered the smooth shoulder surface, and brought out as a fine ornament the treble line which, starting from the bottom of the breast, passes along the front of the shoulders and along the uppermost edge of the wings to their extreme tip. We may be surprised that the effect of a piece of free sculpture so largely depended on colour, which was bound to be difficult to freshen or renew high up on the narrow rock. Wind and rain may quickly have made pale and weak some of the original splendour, which we can best picture in the words of an old Greek[1]: "When the Sphinx was seen against the sun's rays, the animal's back was of golden hue; but when standing against the clouds, it threw back a dark blue reflection just like the rainbow."

[1] Plutarch, *Ex libro de amore*, 3.

VIII

THE TREASURY OF THE SIPHNIANS

AFTER describing the Treasury of the Sicyonians, Pausanias passes on to that of the Siphnians, and first tells the legend attached to it (x. 11, 2); the island of Siphnos had once productive gold-mines, and Apollo commanded the inhabitants to pay over the tithes of the produce to Delphi. So they built the Treasury. But when, from covetousness, they desisted from paying the tax, the sea flowed in and destroyed the mines. Herodotus also (iii. 57) mentions the tithe to Delphi and the Treasury, but he does not know of the destruction of the mines, which he describes as both of gold and silver. He alludes to the Treasury as one of the richest, and puts its date in the palmy days of Siphnos, before the Samians attacked the island, i.e. before 525 B.C.

Siphnos is now a little barren and poor rocky island with a comical miniature town in a deep picturesque bay. The subterranean passages of the old mines have been discovered, and in them the niches in which the miners placed their lamps. Pits for the smelting of the gold are found now at the bottom of the sea, which shows that the sea has risen in level considerably, as the tradition relates.[1] The foundations of the Treasury have been discovered on the spot indicated by Pausanias, on the same side as and immediately after the Treasury of the Sicyonians, to one coming from the main entrance (fig. 7, iv). It lies on a platform reached by steps from the Sacred Way, and is entered from the west, on the opposite side to the entrance of the Sicyonian Treasury. The substructure of the platform now projects uglily over the pavement of the Sacred Way,

[1] Bent, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vi, 1885, p. 195.

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but traces show that this was not so originally. The level of the road in Classical times was a metre higher, and in Imperial times, when the present pavement was laid down (cp. p. 53), the level was lowered, possibly because the original gradient seemed too steep.[1] We know of something similar in the Acropolis of Athens, by the steps at the foot of the bastion of the temple of Nike.

Like the Sicyonian, the Siphnian Treasury is also a temple *in antis*, and of similar dimensions: 8·90 by 6·28 metres. The foundations are of limestone, the building itself of island marble, probably the oldest marble building on the Hellenic mainland.

Homolle, who at first rightly recognized it to be the Treasury of the Siphnians, had doubts later, and called it that of the Cnidians, under which name it has long been known and illustrated.[2] On the antae were found six decrees in honour of the Cnidians, and in the chief inscription on the steps of the Treasury, which was incomplete, Homolle recognized epigraphic forms which in his opinion suited Cnidus or Melos better than Siphnos. Accordingly Homolle made an indiscreet alteration in the text of Pausanias, where the Cnidian Treasury is named later after those of Athens and Thebes. A return has rightly been made to the old appellation,[3] for the decrees in question are only of the third century B.C., and so about 300 years later than the Treasury. At that date such decrees of hospitality were placed about very indiscriminately: on the base of the Nike of the Messenians, for instance, are found decrees in honour of the Boeotians, Macedonians, Ceans, and Ambraciots.[4] And also a decree in honour of a man from Elis is found on the anta of our treasury along with those in honour of Cnidus. In the third century B.C. Siphnos had long sunk into poverty and insignificance, and its decrees could not require much space. We do not know enough of the island forms of letters in the sixth

[1] Compare the complaint in Euripides' *Ion*, 738 f.

[2] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xx, 1896, 581 ff. A warning is given against the foolish restoration of the Treasury and its surroundings by the architect Tournaire in *Fouilles de Delphes*, i, plates x-xi.

[3] Pomtow, *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1909, 187 f.

[4] Idem, *Fleckeisens Jahrbücher*, 42, 1896, 511.

century to reject the Siphnian attribution of the chief inscription.

The Treasury was built in the Ionic style, and the fragments preserved give an idea of its delicate and characteristic decorative details, of the big astragalus along the foot of the wall, of the pilasters before the antae, and the astragali and cymatia on the architrave and frieze. The cornice was decorated with lions' heads, and at the corners of the pediments were walking lions enclosed by lotus and palmettes; the roof was decorated with flying Nike figures, and at the corners of the pediments were seated Sphinxes. All this decoration, of which only scanty fragments are preserved,[1] is mature archaic, and the style may well suit the period of Siphnos' prosperity just before 525 B.C. We will now note the plastic decorations of the building, and begin with

THE CARYATIDS

The vestibule of the little temple *in antis* is supported not by pillars, but by two female figures on high plinths. The same was the case with another of the neighbouring treasuries, and fragments of these four Caryatids were found mixed together, and can only be separated into two groups by analysis of style.[2]

The two Caryatids, whose style agrees best with that of the other sculptures in the Treasury of the Siphnians, in order to be high enough to bear the entablature, must have stood on stone plinths, the height of which Homolle estimates at 95 centimetres, while their own height was about 3·50 metres. The combined height of plinth, female figure, and polos (erection on the head) was somewhat over 4·50 metres. The parts preserved are the heads, parts of the bodies down to the hips, and of the legs.[3] The heads show archaic type and relationship with the older Ionic Korai from the Acropolis of Athens (fig. 31). In the big opening between the eyelids there is still a pale reflection of the primitive archaic triangular

[1] Illustrated in *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xvi-xvii, n. 2-6*a*: cp. Dinsmoor in *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxxvii, 1913, 7 ff. [2] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxiii, 1899, 617 ff.
[3] *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xviii-xx; Perrot-Chipiez, viii. 385 f.

shape, which we have recognized already in the Naxian Sphinx (p. 98). Moreover, in the very large ears, executed with great detail, there are reminiscences of that volute-like stylization, which is known from individual archaic "Apollo" figures.[1] In the deep hollows of the ear-flap a metal ornament was fastened. The nose is broken off, which is specially to be regretted, as the nostrils are finely and vigorously modelled. The cheeks and lips are of an attractive fullness and sweetness. They are to be viewed from the front, for in profile the surface of the cheek is too large and ill-managed, and is spoiled by the heaviness of the ear. But in a front view the head is effective, with the grandness and luxuriance of early Ionic style, and was still more so when the shoulder locks, now broken off, enclosed it. The smile starts from the corners of the mouth over the surface of the cheeks and is brought to a close by the slightly oblique eyes. Both the undulating locks over the forehead, and especially the masses of hair on the neck, divide into silky flowing lines, which even now, when the brilliance of colour has faded, it is a joy to observe (fig. 32). Once all the pin-holes in the diadem over the forehead and in the hair underneath were filled with glittering metal ornaments. Each of these women carries on her head a polos as support for the architecture. This is bounded above and below by a roll (torus), the last adorned with the Lesbian cymation. On the back of the polos are pre-

Fig. 31.—Head of Caryatid from the Treasury of the Siphnians.

[1] Deonna, *Les Apollons archaïques*, 97.

served reliefs with lively forms and movements; to the left are seen remains of two dancing Sileni, then comes a long-bearded Silenus with a nymph in his arms, and at the extreme right a Maenad is running away. The Silenus type was created in Ionic Asia Minor, and the wanton

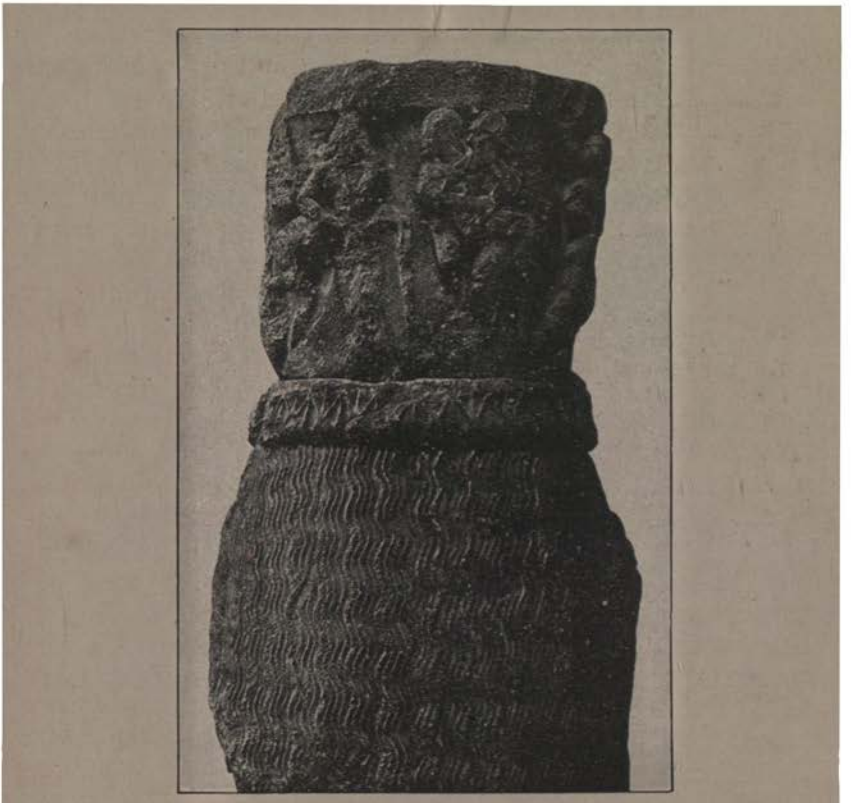

Fig. 32.—Back of head and polos of Caryatid from the Treasury of the Siphnians (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xx).

representations remind one of the Ionic vase-painting [1]; in such places the Greek artist gives vent to his humour; thus Pheidias under the arm of the throne of Zeus at Olympia represented a Satyr pursuing a nymph.

The polos is finished off upwards by a kind of echinus,

[1] Cp., for example, the Phineus-cylix at Würzburg: Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, i, plate 41 and p. 209.

Fig. 33.—Caryatid from the Treasury of the Siphnians (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xx).

cup-shaped, with a representation of two lions tearing a stag (fig. 33); between it and the architrave is further inserted a low abacus.

The Caryatids (figs. 33, 34) wear a chiton and over it the well-known archaic garment, the sloping mantle which in the case of one goes under the right arm, and in the other under the left, and is fastened on opposite shoulders, so that the two women lifted up the trailing folds below, each with the hand that is turned towards the other figure, or, if one prefers so to say, towards the centre. With the opposite hand turned towards the antae each Caryatid held an outstretched flower.

The fragments preserved show an extremely discreet rendering of the transparent materials and the forms of the body underneath: it is the early stage of the Kore type. In archaic times Korai (young girls) was the word applied to such nameless female forms, whether they were used as votive offerings,

as supporters of bowls or roofs, or as mirror handles. The name Caryatid is later, and only appears in the fourth century B.C.[1] In Greek architecture these Delphian supporters are sisters of the Korai of the Erechtheion; but while the women on the Erechtheion balustrade stood out in the open air, with sun and wind around their forms, the Korai of the Siphnian Treasury stood each on her plinth, enclosed between the antae of a portico; and though they carried the roof, they stood with feet close together, thus tapering downwards, a weakness in construction which must have been very surprising to the later Greeks. Their effect was more pictorial than plastic, as they stood there in pomp of colour with metal ornaments and painting against the shadow of the little portico, graciously lifting their big mantles and stretching out with a smile "the gold-crowned flower of youth."

Fig. 34.—Profile view of the same (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xx).

[1] Its origin is treated of in chapter xiv.

Of the other Caryatid group, the head of one (fig. 35) and both torsos from the hips to the feet are preserved.[1] Both torsos and head show the marked style which is typical of the sculptures from the island of Chios: the face has the almond-shaped oblique eyes, the drawn-up corners of the mouth, bounded by deep and delicate pits, the narrow oval lower part. The eyes are now hollow, but were originally filled with onyx or similar coloured stones, which gave brilliance to the gaze from between the folded lids. The smiling effect is more violent both in the greater obliquity of the eyes and in the cheeks, the surfaces of which are broken by concealed pits. This is Ionism, but more slender, elegant, and coquettish. There is less monumental quality in the girl's face, but on the other hand richer naturalness, attractive small observation of the movements of forms and lines. It is of technical interest that all the locks of the forehead hair were separately worked and inserted in the numerous hollows over the forehead; such locks were often of lead, as, e.g., in the Aeginetan sculptures. This childish combination of metal and stone in Greek marble sculpture went right down into the fifth century B.C.

Fig. 35.—Head of Caryatid from Delphi.

This Kore also bears a polos, bounded above and below by a torus, and with a relief field enclosed by vertical fillets: in this one sees faint traces of quietly walking figures, in the middle Apollo with his lute, behind him four nymphs,

[1] Homolle, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxiv, 1900, 582 ff.: *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xxvii.

in front Hermes accompanied by three nymphs. A very quiet scene, when compared with the Dionysiac reliefs on the poloi of the other Korai.

These two Korai are probably older by some years than those of the Siphnian Treasury. When Homolle had renamed the Siphnian as the Cnidian Treasury, he regarded these two as belonging to the Siphnian Treasury. At the moment great uncertainty seems to prevail as to the attribution of the older Caryatids to any particular treasury. Homolle writes to me that he regards them as having belonged to the real treasury of the Cnidians, which is now placed on a foundation a good bit north of the Sacred Way (fig. 7, viii). The architecture of this treasury points to a somewhat older period than that of the Siphnian—i.e., the second or third quarter of the sixth century B.C., which last would suit the style of the Korai. The circumstances of the find might also point in the direction of the Theban Treasury in the south-west corner of the Temenos; but chronology is against that view, for Pausanias describes it as built after the victory of Leuctra (371 B.C.), and the architectural remains agree with that. There are numerous remains of archaic building on and by this site, and close to it foundations of other unnamed treasuries, so that future investigations may bring light upon this point.[1]

PEDIMENTAL GROUPS OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY

Close to the building were found remains of a little pedimental group, with the motive specially favoured in Delphi: the fight of Apollo and Heracles for the sacred tripod (fig. 36).[2] Athena stands in the centre, has seized the two combatants by the wrist, and seeks to separate them. Behind Apollo, who stands to the left, is seen a woman who in a pacifying attitude lays her hands on his arm and back, probably his mother, Leto, or sister, Artemis. Next follow, turned towards the horses, two much destroyed female figures, of which the hindmost lifts the

[1] Cp. *pro tem.* Dinsmoor, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxxvi, 1912, 451-9; 1913, 24.
[2] *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xvi-xvii.

Fig. 36.—Pediment of the Siphnian Treasury (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xvi, xvii).

folds of her oblique mantle with her left hand. Behind the two horses the chariot has disappeared, but the driver, kneeling, remains: his raised leg is very uglily restored. In the extreme apex of the pediment (not illustrated) are vaguely seen the leg and outstretched hand of a recumbent figure. To the right of Athena, the full-bearded Heracles, who is clad in doublet and chiton and has his hair rolled up on his neck, has placed the tripod on his neck, and is retiring with a long stride but is held back, and looks back to Athena and Apollo. In front of Heracles are seen remains of a woman and a man in a leather jerkin, farther on two rearing horses; here there is no room for a chariot, which must have been painted in over the standing figures. To the right of the horses a smaller man in armour is moving out to the corner of the pediment.

A technical peculiarity is this: that the central figures are in relief below, but above are executed as figures in the round. It is the only known transitional form between pediments in relief and in the round. In comparison with the primitive pedimental groups, e.g. the poros pediments of the Athenian Acropolis, there is real progress in the composition; the corners are not filled with animals or snake demons, but with recum-

bent figures, and the primitive principle of making the figures decrease in height to fit the tapering of the pediment is only followed in the warrior furthest to right, while the charioteer to the left, by kneeling, therefore by movement, is adjusted to the conditions of space. Finally there is a real central figure in the well-balanced grouping. All these are peculiarities which only in the Aeginetan pediments, and later in others of the fifth century B.C., become firmly established rules.[1]

But if thus some praise can be given to the composition, the execution cannot be sufficiently blamed. The figures, purely paratactic in their application, sharply profiled in surface, are angular, without transition or depth. The treatment of form is superficial, in parts slovenly, with ugly incised folds, and grotesque transparency in female garments, which is quite unpleasing. The pairs of horses are terrible, worse than rocking-horses! The artist has neither feeling for line nor for form. According to Homolle's statement, the pediment group was found on the east side of the Treasury, and must be placed in the pediment opposite to the entrance. When, in Tournaire's restorations, and plaster models of the façade of the Treasury in Delphi, and in the Louvre, it is placed in the west pediment over the door, this is due to the desire for effect; the east pediment group has completely vanished. But later the Austrian Heberdey maintained that the group is too big for the foundations of the Treasury, and belonged to quite a different building. It would be a relief if renewed measurements proved him to be right, for with the rest of the pretty sculptures from this little jewel of a building this bungling work had nothing in common.

THE FRIEZE OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY

On all four sides of the building ran over the architrave a carved frieze, 65 centimetres in height, the individual blocks of which, 22 centimetres thick, were found scattered, and partly in pieces near to the Treasury. Homolle distributed these blocks of the frieze on stylistic grounds, and with a view

[1] More on this point in Furtwängler, *Aegina*, 318.

to the content of the representations, between the four sides of the building; but all this division was later vigorously attacked by Heberdey, who wanted to parcel out the remains preserved among three different treasuries.[1] Against this arbitrary and violent dismemberment, which, executed in a hurry, betrayed, alongside of considerable technical insight, its author's complete lack of feeling for style, a well justified and founded criticism was directed from the French side which showed that Homolle's distribution was completely correct.[2] Merely the uniformity in thickness and height of the blocks, and the execution of the frieze by two artists, each with a stamp of his own, are sufficient proof that the reliefs belong together, and make the distribution easy. There can now only be controversy on one point, whether the reliefs belong to the building, whose foundations are preserved.[3] Should new measurements give another result, the misfortune will not be great. The reliefs certainly form one complete whole, and the two-sided corner-blocks show that the two artists at work divided the task in such a way that each executed one narrow and one long side.

THE SOUTH FRIEZE OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY

Only a small part, about 3·80 metres, is preserved, while 5 metres are wanting, of this frieze, which decorated the side of the Treasury towards the wall of the Temenos, and thus was not visible from the Sacred Way. We illustrate only two of these relief slabs to show content and style. On the one discovered by Ulrichs in 1837 is seen a quadriga before a car, whose driver's arm and hand that held the reins alone remain; to the right of the horses an altar (fig. 37). On the other fragment (fig. 38) a man has seized a woman,

[1] *Ath. Mitteil.*, xxxiv, 1909, 145 ff.: cp. the answer by Dinsmoor in *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxxvii, 1913, 72 ff.

[2] F. Courby, *Revue archéologique*, 1911, i. 197 ff.; H. Lechat, *Revue des études anciennes*, xiii, 1911, 381 ff.

[3] A. Schober, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, xiv, 1911 Beiblatt (119 ff.), tried to prove that the frieze cannot belong to this building, by measurements of the holes on the top of the frieze surfaces; but Homolle informs me that these "Hebelöcher" (Wolflöcher) are not ancient, but made by the Greek restorer when he had to place the frieze in the museum. *Verb. sap.!*

lifted her up with a grip on knee and wrist, and set one leg on a car, of whose team only two horse-tails are preserved. Two other fragments, which we do not illustrate, show fiery trampling stallions, two of them with riders, and finally there are still more unimportant small fragments.

Homolle interpreted this carrying away of a woman as the Dioscuri carrying off the daughters of Leucippus at Aphidnae in Laconia, a legendary motive, which was treated as early as the middle of the sixth century B.C.[1] Reisch thinks there are too many riders for the *motif*, and proposes to divide the frieze between two subjects: the rape of the Leucippidae, and a procession of chariots past an altar.[2]

Fig. 37.—From the south frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates ix. x).

But on vases too the women are carried off in a sacred grove near an altar, and in a painting by Polygnotus in the Anakeion at Athens [3] we can trace the feature, which is not mentioned in literature before Theocritus, that Idas and Lynceus were the bridegrooms of the Leucippidae, and pursued the abductors, a *motif* which would explain the great marching out on horseback in the frieze.

[1] On the bronze statue of Athena Chalkioikis and the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, Paus., iii. 17, 3, and 18, 11; on vase-paintings of the fifth century, Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, i, plates 8-9; *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1852, plate 41; Ἐφημ. ἀρχ., 1885, plate 5, 1*a*; *Jahrb. des arch. Inst.*, i, plate x. 2; in sculpture, cp. Benndorf and Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi*, 166 and plate xvi.

[2] *Wiener Eranos zur* 50 *Philologenversammlung in Graz*, 1909, 293–301.

[3] Paus. i. 18, 1; cp. Roscher's *Lexikon der Myth.*, s.v. Leukippiden, p. 1988 f.

In the frieze, as in the pedimental group (fig. 36), the figures are treated in a remarkably flat way, with sharp outlines and a number of details rendered by incised lines. But here the likeness ceases. The artist of the frieze is, in spite of his archaic style, a master, especially in animal representation. The human figures are small and slender in comparison with the heavily built, fiery stallions, and in certain parts of the bodies of the horses there is real modelling of the surfaces, though the total impression is conditioned by the deep-cut, vigorous yet elegant incisions in the neck-folds, withers, and hair at the junction of the fore-leg with the body. There is great delight in particular

Fig. 38.—From the south frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates ix, x).

forms. The veins swell in the horses' legs, and the neck-folds lie vigorously on the arched chests. What is meant by disappearance of colour is seen by the difficulty of separating the now colourless heads of the horses and the tails in the other plane; they were originally brought out by contrasts of colour. There is reason to emphasize the fact that everywhere in the frieze stallions are represented; in Greek, especially in Attic poetry, stallions are the only riding horses; carriage horses are always conventionally mares. We shall meet the same artist again in the west frieze. Quite different is the creator of the

Fig. 39.—Part of the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury.

EAST FRIEZE OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY

This frieze, placed on the narrow side opposite the entrance, and originally 6·37 metres in length—for at the sides it projected over the astragalus and cyma of the architrave [1] —falls into two sections, a battle over a fallen warrior, and an assembly of gods. We begin with the first representation, to right in the frieze (fig. 39). Before the horses stands a weaponless man in chiton and leather jerkin, who

Fig. 40.—Details of the east frieze (cf. fig. 39) (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv).

with a movement of the hand seems to hold the team in check. Behind the horses is seen the upper body of the driver; the chariot itself, both wheels and body, seems to have been painted on the background. Next follow two warriors armed with spear and shield, the foremost with a Medusa head on his shield, fighting over a fallen armed man against two warriors, who are attacking from the opposite direction (fig. 40). Behind them, again, stands the charioteer reining in the team, and probably, for the sake of symmetry, a warrior, now lost, pacifying the fiery animals (figs. 41, 42).

[1] Courby. *Revue arch.*, 1911, i. 209.

Fig. 41.—Part of the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury.

The style in this composition is completely different from that of the south frieze. The horses are smaller and slimmer, thoroughly modelled, without incised lines, with a discreet treatment of the chests and the finely shaped heads. In this self-restraint, of which fig. 42 should give an idea, there is a glimpse of the great art which in the following centuries conquered the naïve delight in telling a story which characterized archaic art. There are parts of these horses' bodies where the modelling is hardly seen, but only felt when one lets one's hand glide

Fig. 42.—Details of east frieze (cf. fig. 41) (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv).

over the surface. The horses are no longer paratactic, but with bold foreshortenings swing forward one in front of the other. While the horses play a less important part, the human figures have correspondingly gained in size and vigorous build of body. The man is the centre of the representation as in the red-figured vase-paintings. The artist applies himself zealously to the foreshortening of the shields, which with the warriors to the left has necessitated a considerable deepening of the background of the relief (see fig. 40). The feet of the warriors are no longer fast nailed to the earth and parallel to the surface of the

background, but the foremost warrior to right (fig. 40) raises his hind heel and turns his calves outwards. The treatment of the nude male leg is splendid: the calves turn swelling towards the spectator, and the fibulae run correctly, and are not stylized as is usual in archaic art.

In the foremost warrior to the right, the thigh muscles in the advanced leg are even executed on the inner side turned to the background, which no human eye could or can see. Such ardour possessed this artist! So much the more worthy of admiration is his discreet treatment of the rotulae of the knee, which is not specially strained and not turned violently towards the observer. The feet, which are only roughly indicated in the south and west friezes without separate toes, are here everywhere carefully varied: with the foremost warrior to the right the toes of the advanced foot bend and continue the taut sinews of the instep. While the execution of the legs is best where they are furthest from the background, the opposite is the case with the arms: here the bodies get in the way, and so the arms are flatly treated in the front plane and lack closer individual formation; while far back, where they are stretched against the background or shields, they are excellently shaped and detailed, with vigorous, correctly bounded delta and biceps muscles, prominent radius, and depression in the middle of the inner side of the under arm. A good example is the left arm against the shield of the first warrior to left (fig. 40). The armour of the men consists now of tight leather jerkins with lappets, now of metal cuirasses with prominent edges, the latter with modelling of the chest and upper belly muscles.

Best characterized is the fallen warrior (fig. 40), whose one strongly-built arm hangs loosely in the strap of the forward-bending shield, and whose chiton folds and genitals follow the law of gravitation. While the right leg lies close on the ground, the left leans raised and bent forward like the shield. He is evidently about to roll over on his face; thus a *motif* of movement is anticipated which is known from one of the figures in the Aegina pediment, which is more than a quarter of a century later; but the movement in the Siphnian frieze is still in archaic fashion, with com-

plete parallelism between the upper and lower parts of the body.

Of the importance of colour with all these warriors with the alternating or double costume one can form an idea best by regarding the big vizor-helmets, whose effect now is small, but which viewed in colours from below looked like big decorative masks. A few inscriptions on the background are preserved: by the furthest warrior to left is "Aineias" (fig. 42). By the furthest to right the four letters "Mene," the beginning of Menelaus. Thus the relief represents a battle scene in the seventeenth book of the *Iliad*, where Menelaus, followed by Aias, son of Telamon, "the bravest of the Greeks next to Achilles himself," fights against Hector and Aineias for the body of Patroclus, a battle which lasts a whole day, and in which finally Menelaus, to his grief, has to retire.[1] Aineias appears only quite late, but is of essential importance for the fortunate issue of the combat and the fresh progress of the Trojans.[2] Homolle proposed the very unimportant battle about Euphorbus' corpse in the same book, and Reisch thought it might be the fight between Memnon and Achilles for the corpse of Antilochus after the lost Epic *Aithiopis*. But in this combat, which is also known from vase-paintings, the scheme is quite different, and in particular the mothers of the heroes are always present; so the interpretation, apart from the plainness of the inscriptions, is absolutely impossible.[3] The battle for the body of Patroclus, as is usually the case in Homer with that sort of battle, goes on with the participation of the gods, and in two other relief slabs from the east frieze we see a whole gathering of gods represented.

On the slab which was to the right, nearest the battle scene, three goddesses are represented seated and conversing with vehement gestures, of whom the foremost with the aegis is easily recognizable as Athena (fig. 43). On the other slab (fig. 44) five figures are preserved. The foremost to the

[1] *Iliad*, xvii. 90, 106, 123, 233, and 384; Menelaus as the ludicrous cowardly creature best known from Euripides, *Orestes*, 754, and *Andromache* was probably conceived in Athens under influence of the hatred for Sparta called forth by the Peloponnesian War; and, as the famous group of the Loggia dei Lanzi at Florence shows, did not enter into plastic art; *Aias* (Sophocles), 1340. [2] xvii. 320 f.

[3] G. E. Lung, *Memnon. Arch. Studien zur Aithiopis*; *Bonner Dissertation*, 1912, 37.

right is a man clothed in linen chiton and mantle with long neck-hair and shoulder locks, seated on a fine throne with back and arms, and with a foot-stool under his feet. Since there is represented under the arm a satyr pursuing a nymph, the German Karo proposed to interpret this figure as Dionysus.[1] But a like representation of satyr and nymph was found even on the throne of Zeus at Olympia, and Dionysus is too subordinate a god to sit alone on a throne with a foot-stool, and in the place of honour among the gods. The

Fig. 43.—From the assembly of the gods in the east frieze.

old explanation " Zeus " is certainly the correct one. Next comes a man with bare shoulder, and long tied-up neck-hair, talking to a woman, who lays a hand on his shoulder, and to another still more violently gesticulating woman. In this trinity it is natural to see Apollo—the bow was added in metal in the lowered left hand—his mother, Leto, and sister, Artemis. Finally, furthest to the left, there sits by

[1] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, 267 f.

Fig. 44.—The assembly of the gods from the east frieze (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv).

the vertical fillet, which encloses the scene, a fully armed warrior with shield and greaves, Ares.

But there are traces of other divine figures now lost. On Zeus's lap rest two fingers, and a break before his knee shows that here sat a little figure, lower on a stool and familiarly turned towards Zeus.[1] In the other group before Athena is the trace of the back of a chair, on which probably sat Hera. The composition thus seems to have been as follows[2]: in the centre Zeus with a little maidservant before his knee, certainly Hebe; to the right Hera, Athena, and two goddesses, probably Demeter and Kore (fig. 43); to the left, behind Zeus's back, the above-named four divinities, so a completely symmetrical arrangement of the great gods with Zeus as the central point. Heberdey and Karo's proposal to divide the groups of gods and put the battle for Patroclus's body in the centre is rendered impossible by the vertical fillets closing the scene before the ends of both friezes, and, moreover, by the fact that both the furthest slabs bend round the corners to north and south respectively. The gods are not divided as in the Parthenon frieze: they sit in a circle in their Olympus, strongly moved by the fighting of the mortals, and divided according to partisanship, the gods to the right of Zeus being for the Greeks, those on his left for the Trojans in the Homeric description. The scene best answers to the beginning of the fourth book, where the assembled gods have a lively debate. But the lively gathering of gods is also suitable as an accompaniment to the battle scenes of the seventeenth book, for here too we hear of the active participation of the gods: several times Apollo goes out, disguises himself, and encourages Hector, while Zeus nods in exasperation when Hector has taken Achilles' armour off Patroclus. The sculptor never follows the poem slavishly, but makes the alterations his art requires.

Naturally it caused no small astonishment to find in this frieze a plastic representation of gods assembled, about a century earlier than the famous gathering of the gods in the frieze of the Parthenon, and in both cases to see Ares

[1] Karo, op. cit., 269.
[2] Lechat, *Revue des études anciennes*, xiii, 1911, 398 and note 3.

at the extremity of the circle, and characterized as the restless divinity: in the Parthenon frieze, he rocks in his seat with hand stretched round his raised knee; in the Siphnian frieze he sits with legs far apart, on account of which the artist gave him a low seat, not the usual chair. As to the representation itself, it is to be observed that, while the dresses of gods and goddesses witness to genuine Greek elegance, undeniably they gesticulate with their long hands on the too short under-arms with a vulgarity and fervour which would not have been approved in the classic art of the fifth century. It is the peculiar delight of young art in violent outbreaks: here are the same big fan-like, nimble hands that we know from red-figured vases; when one passes from them to the hands of the great style, the company seems not only quiet, but actually rather languid.

In illustrations the frieze of gods seems to be the finest part of the east frieze; but in reality it is not equal to the battle about the body of Patroclus; the description is less fresh, and there is more interest in the fine clothes with the carefully worked out details than for the problems of form and movement. Zeus and Apollo are clad in chiton and mantle, the goddesses in peplos or chiton, or both, and over them an epiblema, i.e. a folded shawl, which covers the shoulders, upper arm, and back, and with large folds follows the motions of the arms. In this delight in dress and folds there is a genuine Ionic element: moreover, the plump fleshy forms in Ares and the fighting heroes point to the art of the East, the Ionic *τρυφή*.

WEST FRIEZE OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY

This was over the western entrance to the Treasury, and the two corner slabs are preserved, while the centre, more than a third part, is wanting.[1] On the slab from the left corner (fig. 45) is seen next to the vertical enclosing fillet Hermes, recognizable by the herald's staff and the curved wings on his heels. He is clad in chlamys and has long hair. The face is destroyed, and the outstretched left arm broken off. Like the warrior furthest to right in

[1] For this frieze see Homolle, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1894, 194; 1895, 535; 1896, 581; and my article, 1908, 177.

the east frieze, he pacified a quadriga, but here they are divine horses with sickle-shaped wings (fig. 46). On the carriage behind a goddess, recognizable by the (destroyed) helmet and aegis as Athena, places her foot, while the other foot rested on the ground (fig. 47). Athena also has sickle-shaped wings, the one raised, the other, whose point is visible in the illustration behind the edge of the aegis, lowered. The winged Athena, described among the Athena types in one of Cicero's writings[1]—but there, to be sure, with wings on her shoes like Hermes—is extremely rare in Art: altogether only six representations, all from vase-paintings, are known.[2] Athena with a team of winged horses before her chariot, on the other hand, was used as a ship sign by the Athenians, and is therefore less surprising.[3] Behind Athena is seen, further, a nude heavily-built man with a staff or shaft on his shoulder.

The figures on the corre-

Fig. 45.—From the west frieze (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates vii, viii).

[1] *De Nat. Deorum*, iii. 59. Cp. the bibliography recently given by Deonna, *Revue des étud. gr.*, xxx, 1917, n. 7.

[2] Zahn, *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.*, xxiii, 1908, 172; Lechat, *Revue des études anciennes*, xi, 1909, 129.

[3] Euripides, *Iph. in Aulis*, 251.

Fig. 46.—Detail of fig. 45.

Fig. 47.—Detail of fig. 45.

sponding slab from the right corner (fig. 48) are less clearly characterized. To the right we see the middle part of a man in chlamys and leather jerkin with flaps, facing a team of four fiery wingless horses (fig. 49). On the yoke over the necks of the hindmost horses a bird is faintly seen. Corresponding with Athena follows a female figure descending from the car with her back to it, with her head turned round and both arms raised (there is a trace of the left arm on the ground of the relief) (fig. 50). To the extreme left of this slab is preserved a fragment containing two heads side by side in profile view, which have suffered severely.

Homolle interpreted the west frieze as a representation of the introduction of Heracles into Olympus, thinking that he recognized Heracles in the heavy man behind Athena, and Hebe, his promised bride, in the charming woman who, in the last-mentioned slab, is descending from the car. But in this case the dominating position of Athena is as unintelligible as the separation of bridegroom and bride, divided as they

Fig. 48.—From the west frieze (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates vii, viii).

Fig. 49.—Detail of fig. 48.

Fig. 50.—Detail of fig. 48.

are by all the lost central portion of the frieze. We are in an assembly of gods, and there is certainty as to Hermes and Athena. The short staff of the nude man behind Athena is like the axe-handle carried by Hephaestus in archaic vase-paintings: the blade of the axe has disappeared with the shoulders of the figure (fig. 47). The figure in front of the horses furthest to right is attired for war in a jerkin like Ares both in the east frieze and, as we shall see, in the north frieze. But who is the charming woman who on the same slab is leaving her chariot, and alone among all the sumptuously-clad goddesses of the Siphnian frieze is wearing a bracelet (fig. 50)? The name of Aphrodite suggests itself, and the gesture of the figure proves this correct. From two fingers—forefinger and thumb—of the raised right hand proceed two strings, which lead to the left hand, which she held on a level with her face. They are the chains of a necklace—fresh investigations by another have confirmed the correctness of my observation[1]—and the goddess is engaged with her toilet, putting on her necklace, while she is leaving her chariot.

It is therefore very interesting also to point out what I had overlooked—viz., that Athena, her counterpart, is lifting a lappet of the aegis with the left hand high over her shoulder, and with the right bringing another lappet up to her breast (fig. 47). Only a careful examination of the broken surfaces of the original has given the certain result of showing that Athena also is dressing, while she descends from her car, and—as the traces show—is turning her head back towards the centre of the relief. There is genuine archaic *naïveté* in this double treatment and agreement in the movements of the goddesses, which, however, does not give the effect of slavish repetition; for Athena is turning her breast, Aphrodite her back, to the chariot and horses.

Now we understand better the other details: the little bird on the horse-yoke, Aphrodite's dove or sparrow, and the two damaged heads in front of Ares and Aphrodite placed side by side. Similarly united in close parallel profiles we shall find the brother and sister Apollo and

[1] Courby, *Revue Arch.*, 1911, i. 213 ff.

Artemis in the battle with the giants of the north frieze. The two chariots have stopped, the goddesses are alighting, in front of Aphrodite's car we still see in pale colours the reins wrapped tightly round the high uprights, and before both teams stand gods, "for timorous is the horse's eye and must be quieted,"[1] and nevertheless seem to have seized the foremost pair by the bridle. Gods as grooms are not a rare phenomenon on vase-paintings; it is the picture of the civilization of a time when people possessed fewer slaves, and when, therefore, free men could also perform menial work: in a similar way Hermes appears as cup-bearer in a fragment of Sappho.[2]

The gods of the frieze fall into two groups: on the one side (fig. 45) Hermes, Athena, Hephaestus; on the other (fig. 48) Ares, Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis. The arrival in chariots reminds one of the descriptions of the *Iliad*, where the goddesses in their carriages drive off to the Trojan battle-field.[3] We must therefore assume a battle scene in the centre now lost, and the gods, as in the east frieze, divided according to sympathies. Now, in the twentieth *Iliad* there is really a battle scene and distribution of gods which exactly answers to that of the frieze. Zeus has given the gods leave to join the combatants, and they go off each to their side, and the battle of the gods begins. On the Greek side are arrayed Hera, Athena, Poseidon, Hermes, and Hephaestus, of whom in the destruction of the frieze we miss only two, Hera and Poseidon. On the Trojan side fight Ares, Apollo, Artemis, Leto, the river-god Xanthus, and Aphrodite. Perhaps for symmetry's sake the sculptor omitted the less important river-god, and then we should only be without one, the goddess Leto.

Even with the addition of the gods who are wanting, there is room in the centre for a large battle scene—naturally without war chariots—and it is natural to assume a representation of Achilles' fight in revenge for Patroclus, which in the twentieth book assumes great dimensions and puts in motion the whole divine world. That the gods are here divided, not collected as they are in the east frieze, whose battle description, taken from the seventeenth book, is

[1] *Iph. Aul.*, 650. [2] Athenaeus, v. 192 c. [3] *Iliad*, v. 720 ff.; viii. 41 f.; xiii. 23 f.

continued in the west frieze, is naturally explained by the fact that the gods this time are down in the actual fighting, and so must be divided according to their sympathies. They are present to urge on and strengthen their sides; but they do not themselves directly join in the fight: so they are characterized by their usual attributes, and do not carry weapons, as in the giant frieze on the north side of the building. Only Athena, the goddess of battle, is arming herself with the aegis, but the lance is not seen; neither is she about to fight, as little as Aphrodite, who is putting her dangerous "weapon," the pearl necklace, about her neck.

If there is thus agreement in point of content between the east and west friezes, the styles, on the other hand, are quite different. . The west frieze is in style similar to the south frieze (figs. 37, 38): the figures have the same large feet with sharply bent edges; the preference for incised lines and stylization in place of modelling and modulation of the surface are the same. In the figure of Hermes the twist of the body is not softened by transition between abdomen and breast, the knee-caps are too far forward, and the fibulae are prettily but lifelessly stylized. Athena's movement seems to us awkward and straddling; but the big folds of the mantle have free play, and originally made amends by their colouring. The horses are charming, but unfortunately not so well preserved as those of the south frieze. No doubt is possible: the south and west friezes were executed by the same sculptor, who is more archaic than the artist of the east frieze, whom we meet again in the finest and best preserved part of the sculptures of the building, viz.:

NORTH FRIEZE OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY

This frieze faced the Sacred Way, and has been recovered in about its whole length, 8·90 metres. The subject is the battle of the gods and giants, and we will begin our description from the left, from the north-east corner of the building.

Here we see furthest, by the vertical border, a long-haired,

bearded man in short chiton, struggling with two big receptacles or sacks, of which the smaller is folded up, the larger smooth (fig. 51). Homolle interpreted the figure as Aeolus, the wind-god, with his bags, from which he lets loose the storm-winds, here against the giants. But the Greek archaeologist Rhomaios has discovered the correct explanation.[1] On our illustration it can be seen that from the sacks below project two pipes, which to the right discharge

Fig. 51.—From the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury.

into an unarticulated lump in front of the foremost of the two following fighting goddesses. In spite of fracture and damage, Rhomaios recognized in this lump the outlines of an oven, rounded at the top, and with a door at the side turned towards the god with the sacks. It follows that it is not Aeolus, but the blacksmith-god Hephaestus with his oven and his bellows, the "sooty bellows"[2] described by the

[1] Ἐφημ. ἀρχ., 1908, 254; cp. Karo, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, 174.
[2] Apoll. Rhod., *Argonautica*, iv. 776.

poets, whose hissing makes red-hot the pieces of iron in the furnace. With red-hot iron Hephaestus fights against the giants both in the literary tradition and on two red-figured vases.[1]

While Hephaestus represents the artillery in the rear of the battle, the two following goddesses are actually engaged and have levelled their weapons in their raised arms. The hindmost and best preserved has a more developed female breast than any goddess in the frieze, and is probably Aphrodite, Hephaestus's wife. Their opponents, two giants with helmets, greaves, shields, and raised lances, are seen furthest to the left on the next slab of the frieze (fig. 52: cp. fig. 53). Behind their backs fights Heracles, easily recognizable by the lion's skin, the paws of which are fastened in front of his breast (fig. 53). In his hair are small holes, in which a metal wreath was fixed; the right raised arm with the weapon is broken, and over the left arm, which is stretched over the following chariot, hangs the lion's skin which served him as shield. On the chariot in question stands the goddess Cybele, who also has an animal skin over her dress, the tail of which

Fig. 52.—Gigantomachy from the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xiii, xiv).

[1] Apollodorus, i. 6, 2.

hangs down under her neck, while the head covers her back; to judge by the shape of the tail and snout, a wolf skin (fig. 53). This figure was once described as a male god Dionysus, but a trace on the ear-lobe shows that it wore ear-rings, which is only conceivable with a female divinity.[1]

Behind Cybele's chariot and team fights on another plane a helmeted and armour-clad giant with round shield and raised lance with spear-point directed at Heracles; contrasted colours here originally picked out details. To Cybele's chariot are harnessed two lions, which take part

Fig. 53.—Detail of fig. 52.

in the battle: the hindmost, whose head is broken, reared on his hind-legs and attacked a nude helmeted giant, who tries to flee; but the other lion has seized him with his fore-paws and drawn his side into his crushing jaws (figs. 52, 53, 54). He is nude, because the artist wants to show the stream of blood on the bare body, while a torn garment would be inartistic. Even in Hellenistic relief-art, one can see the variation from nudity to clothing from the point of view "wounded or not." That Cybele, "the bull-slaying ruler of lions," with her animals, is engaged in fighting the giants points to Ionic influence, but she

[1] Lechat, *Revue des études anciennes*, xi, 1909, 13 f.

seems also to have been present on a black-figured Attic vase with the same *motif*.[1]

After this group, and with their backs to them, follow a brilliant pair of divinities, Apollo and Artemis, both in profile as in the west frieze, identical in movements and pace, evidently both shooting with the bow. Apollo has a hair-roll on the neck, short coat, and quiver on his back. Artemis wears a pointed cap and diadem[2]; her profile is well preserved (fig. 54).

In front of the two is seen a man, who, rapidly running, turns his head back, with fluttering chiton under his armour

Fig. 54.—Detail of fig. 52.

and sword-sheath in a strap over it, armed with sword, the front part of which was only painted, shield, and a helmet, the plume of which is carried by a support shaped like a two-handled drinking-cup, a Kantharos. This drinking-cup, which on vase-paintings is always seen in Dionysus' hand,[3] had given occasion to the naming of him as Dionysus. But various students objected to this, on the ground that in the north frieze the giants' helmets are

[1] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1896, plates vi-vii; Roscher, s.v. Kybele, 1644.
[2] For the pointed cap in archaic art see Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. Tutulus.
[3] Cp. Gerhard, *A.V.*, i, plates 32, 35, 37 ff.

Fig. 55.—Gigantomachy from north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xiii, xiv).

decorated with a variety of emblems: goat and bull's horns, a horse's head, a marine animal; and it was thought that these decorations had no deeper meaning than shield-signs, etc.[1] Thus the running figure was interpreted as early as 1894, by Furtwängler, as a giant escaping from Cybele's lions. But on renewed investigation of the frieze, it appeared that the name Dionysus, which Homolle had read on the edge under the figure, is written both underneath and on the background by the Kantharos-helmet.[2] The inscriptions of the frieze in course of time were certainly touched up more than once, and some of them even renewed, but in any case it is certain that this warrior rushing forward was conceived as Dionysus in antiquity, whatever was the original idea of the sculptor.

Before Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysus lies a nude dead giant, with the name painted on, "Ephialtas," and over him three giants covered by big shields advance against the gods. On the hindmost shield can be read an artist's inscription.

The slab, the chief figure of which was Zeus in his chariot, is destroyed; and only little of the body and heads of the team of horses is preserved (fig. 55, to left). In poetry, too, Zeus drives his

[1] Lechat, op. cit., 4 f.

[2] Homolle, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscr.*, 1894, 357; Reisch, *Wiener Eranos*, 1909, 295, n. 2; A. J. Reinach, *Revue des études grecques*, 1910, 307, n. 1.

quadriga into the battle with the giants.[1] To the right of the horses' fore-legs are dimly seen Zeus' two opponents, giants, of whom the foremost brandishes a stone, the hindmost a spear. Underneath lies a fallen nude giant; he is trying to creep out of the mêlée, covered by his round shield, while a woman in chiton and cloak, and with diadem in her curled hair, has laid hold of the edge of the shield, and raises a spear to pierce him (fig. 56). This female figure with the well-preserved head, by an

Fig. 56.—Detail of fig. 55.

inscription which is now faded, is denoted as Hera. Diadem and ear-lobe show traces of original metal decoration. The following figure also, Athena, is identified with certainty, both by inscription and the aegis. She has helmet and shield and is fighting against two giants, the foremost of whom, with his shield directed towards that of the goddess, has fallen on his knees: the shoulder-belt points to the weapon in his hand, which was added with an iron tenon, having been a sword. The other giant with a sea-monster on his helmet is brandishing the usual weapon, the spear. The giants' names are read as Berektas and Laertas.

[1] Euripides, *Heracles*, 177.

Behind them fights a bearded god in leather jerkin, chiton, and a helmet, in which the holes for fastenings along the edge of the helmet show an original metal decoration (fig. 57). It is Ares, with spear, which was added in bronze; he is fighting against the giants Enaphas and Biatas, one of whom raises a huge rock. On the ground between them lies the naked dead giant Astartas: alone of all the gods, Ares has had to encounter three adversaries.

The fighting god in the next group is characterized as Hermes, by the pointed cap, the felt hat worn by shepherds (*κυνέη*), and so suitable to the son of Maia, and, like Heracles,

Fig. 57.—Detail of fig. 55.

he wears over his chiton a leather dress, to which parallels are found both in archaic reliefs and vase-paintings, and which is certainly the apron-like overcoat called *σισύρα* and worn by slaves and artisans.[1] Behind the two giants that fight against Hermes furthest to right are seen the legs and back of a combatant god, and before his body the corner of a chariot on which stood a woman, of whom nothing remains but the lappets of her long chiton (fig. 55). Possibly

[1] Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole*, 111, fig. 6; Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, 154, n. 622; Pottier, *Vases du Louvre*, ii, plate 54, E, 732; *Monumenti*, vi-vii, plate 78; for *σισύρα*, see Hesychius, s.v. A longer skin coat is called *βαίτη*; Pollux, *Onomasticon*, vii. 70.

these are Poseidon and Amphitrite. The last slabs of the frieze to right are much destroyed, and the gods are not particularly well characterized, and therefore we omit them.

It is time to estimate the artistic value of the Gigantomachia on this frieze. On coming from an examination of the paratactic figures of the west frieze, we admire the high relief of this battle scene; the figures intersect each other and move in two planes, so that, e.g., Cybele on her chariot rattles past Heracles and his antagonist; Dionysus glides forward like a ghost behind Apollo and Artemis; Hera fights as if the two giants over her were far removed from her in their conflict with Father Zeus (cp. figs. 53, 54, and 56). Of course, later Greek artists could have executed this task with more illusion, but within the limit of archaic relief-style no more could have been done. The impression of a wild and confused battle scene is so strong, that only after contemplation of some length can one begin to distinguish details.

Probably the palm must be given to the rendering of the nude giant who is being torn to pieces by Cybele's lion-team. The hinder rearing lion sets one paw on his breast, the other about his neck, and the giant has seized the first-named with the left hand and is seeking to tear it away. But at the same time the other lion has thrown both fore-paws about the giant's thigh, and is seeking to draw him into its powerful jaws, while the giant tries to strangle it with the arm he has thrown round its neck, the whiteness of which is contrasted with the bristling red mane. In these combats there is the same savagery as we find in the centaurs of the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

The running Dionysus (fig. 54) bears the imprint of sound and lively naturalism. His chiton, which is stretched tight behind, and in front flutters with light sharp folds, gives the impression of speed, when coupled with the locks that fly out from the neck behind. Such a thing surprises us agreeably in an archaic artist, though a century later it would be a matter of course.

The fallen and falling giants are rendered in excellent alternating positions. In front of Dionysus lies a dead

giant on his back, with his right arm raised pathetically over his head, and his fingers curved on the ground (fig. 54). Particularly effective is the *motif* of motion in the giant who, protected by his shield (painted red), is slinking away to avoid Hera's spear (fig. 55). But the fallen giant in front of Ares takes the palm (fig. 57). He is lying sideways with open mouth in his fierce bearded countenance, which is as it were framed by the left arm, while the zigzag lines of the right arm and hand produce an impression of painful groping; pain is also expressed by the tightly-pressed knees, and as the right leg is bent and drawn downwards in position, so the sexual organs hang loosely over the thigh. A comparison with the contemporary Gigantomachia of the Megarian Treasury at Olympia shows what all this means; there in the falling hero to the left of the centre the chiton folds do not vary in the least from the vertical position. Even in good archaic works, as in the badly preserved relief-pediment from Thebes,[1] this predilection for ornamental treatment of folds without regard to position is prominent. So much the more effective is the naturalism of the Siphnian frieze; it is the exception, less expressive perhaps than stylization, but more truthful, and the product of watchful observation.[2]

Viewed as a whole, how admirable the east and north friezes are! An infinite variety of movements and positions makes the rendering of form difficult and engrossing, and so strong is the artist's delight in rendering form, that even that which was never intended to be seen, and even now, when the reliefs are set up low in the museum, cannot be seen, is rendered with deep cutting. What life in these forms, in the swelling muscles of shoulders and arms, in the stretched sinews and fine veins of the feet! Here we have intersection of limbs and bodies, foreshortening of movements and shields; here the teams of horses advance, as they do a century later in the Lycian sarcophagus at Constantinople, with their chests raised in the direction of the observer.

[1] See below, fig. 90.

[2] *Olympia*, iii, plate 18; Blümner, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 1916, 6, plate ii, 9. The Theban pediment in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1905, plate xiii; text by L. Curtius, 380.

When the reliefs were discovered, they were richly painted, and still the colours have not all faded.[1] As was indicated in the treatment of the metopes of the Sicyonian Treasury, the background was blue. The figures are treated in blue, green, and red, the last colour in two shades, light red and golden-red. The clothes are red with blue borders, while the colours are changed when two or more articles of clothes or armour are worn. The helmets are blue, with red ornamental stripes on the edges, to pick them out from the blue background; the last feature reminds one of the little red nimbus which in red-figured vases divides the dark hair of the figures from the dark ground. The outsides of the shields are alternately blue and red, their insides red, with a narrow colourless border along the edge, a colour scheme answering exactly to that of figures on the Aeginetan pediment. The bodies of Cybele's lions are colourless, but the manes, harness, and yoke are red. The tails and manes of the horses are red, or where several are seen close together, alternately red and blue.

The style is Ionic, and the examination of this frieze shows how far in the last decade of the sixth century B.C. Ionic art was ahead of Attic, as we know from the finds on the Acropolis of Athens, a result arrived at on the basis of a study of the Korai themselves and the other archaic sculptures of the "Perserschutt."[2] Only after the Persian Wars does Athens become what previously it had been only in vase-painting, the capital of Greek art. Siphnos itself was never an art centre, and it would be absurd to ascribe to the little island the honour of this fine art, executed by artists who were probably at home on the coast of Asia Minor. That is indicated by stylistic agreement with the scanty remains of the cornice frieze of the Artemision at Ephesus, the last part of the plastic decoration of the temple to be executed, which can be dated at 525 B.C., which is just the time of the Siphnian frieze.[3] The work itself must have been executed at Delphi, for site and building

[1] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1893, 194; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, 306 f.
[2] Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, 19 ff.
[3] Lethaby, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxxvii, 1917, 3 f.

required a close co-operation between architects and sculptors. By Delphian inscriptions of the fourth century, when the later temple of Apollo was built, we know of similar relations. Then ships brought both carvers and stone; and when the material had been brought to Delphi from Cirrha, where it was unloaded, over the Crisaean plain and up the mountain path, the hewing in workshops in the suburb Thyiai began; then the Phaedriades resounded with the hammer and chisel strokes of the busy Ionian artists.

IX

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AND ITS PEDIMENTS

PAUSANIAS, in his description of Delphi, gives us the history of the Temple of Apollo from the distant mythical past (x. 5, 9). The oldest temple was naturally a hut built of laurel-wood fetched from the sacred vale of Tempe. The next was still more poetical, being built of birds' feathers and beeswax. The third was of metal. Here Pausanias is right in feeling a little firm ground under his feet, for bronze-clad palace and temple walls existed in Homer's time, and partly remained down to historic times. The fourth temple was built of stone by Trophonios and Agamedes, and burnt down, as Herodotus had already stated (ii. 180), in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, i.e. 548–7 B.C. Of this temple there have been found fragments of limestone and of the terra-cotta covering of the roof.

To rear the temple again in a new and more sumptuous form, a great collection through Hellas was undertaken in the years 547 to 526 B.C., and particularly the Hellenes in Egypt, and even the Egyptian king Amasis, gave considerable contributions. The sum collected was 300 talents (£60,000), and Delphi yielded a quarter of this according to the resolution of the Amphictyons. Then the restoration began, but at first only proceeded slowly. The mere work of laying the foundations was colossal, as the great southern supporting wall, the often-mentioned Pelargikó, shows; it is built without cement, of carefully smoothed polygonal stones, selected and fitted in such a way that their upright and horizontal joints form pretty sweeping curves. Head-

way was made with the work in 513, when the Alcmaeonidae took over the superintendence. They were a noble family driven out of Athens by a feud between them and the reigning house of tyrants, the Peisistratidae, and they offered to complete the temple, and made it grander than they had promised in the contract, thereby to win the Amphictyons and Spartans for their cause.[1] In 510 B.C., the year when the Alcmaeonid policy conquered, and Hippias was driven out of Athens,[2] the temple was practically finished, but for some years work went on at the completion of its plastic decoration.

This temple of the Alcmaeonidae was not the one Pausanias saw and described in the second century A.D., for it was destroyed in the fourth century B.C., no doubt in 373 B.C. There is considerable disagreement as to the cause of the catastrophe. Originally it was thought to have been produced by one of the earthquakes so frequent at Delphi; then Courby, who made an exhaustive study of the temple ruins, thought he could prove that in course of time the temple was undermined by the springs *in situ*, and chiefly by the spring Cassotis; and finally Pomtow, from a defective passage in the Parian Chronicle, wanted to draw the inference that the temple was burned.[3] Since this last hypothesis requires an arbitrary textual emendation, and no traces of fire can be seen on the remains of the temple preserved, there is every reason to reject it and suppose that earthquakes, springs, and perhaps other causes unknown to us, brought about the fall of the great temple.

In the year 371 B.C., at a peace congress in Sparta, it was proposed to raise contributions for the re-erection of the temple,[4] and by explicit inscriptions from Delphi we get full knowledge of the collection and the work of the international building commission in the years after 369, especially for 353–334 B.C.[5] Subscription lists were sent out, and

[1] Herodotus, v. 62; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 19, 4; Plutarch, *Solon*, 11; Pindar, *Pyth.*, vii. 10 and scholia. [2] Hdt., vi. 123.

[3] Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes*, 253; Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes*, ii, text; Lechat, *Revue des études anciennes*, xix, 1917, 340; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, i. 295, n. 4.

[4] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 4, 2.

[5] Bourguet, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxii, 1898, 308 ff.; *L'administration financière du sanctuaire Pythique*, Paris, 1905, 36 ff.; *Les ruines de Delphes*, 258 f.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 236-53.

contributions poured in from most distant towns, like Selinus in Sicily, Phaselis in Lycia, Naucratis in Egypt, and towns in the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea). A Spartan king sends the contribution of his city, and little places in Thessaly and Arcadia give sums of money which astonish us by their size. Apollonia in Epirus sends a part of its barley harvest, which being sold fetches 3,500 drachmae. There are quite small contributions, down to single obols from ladies in Sicily and Peloponnese, which could scarcely cover the cost of the carving of their names in stone, but are entered in the inscriptions for the sake of the good example. The only Greek towns which are wanting in these subscription lists are significantly enough Olympia in Elis, and Miletus and Didyma in Asia Minor—in other words, the rivals of Delphi. On the other hand, Alexander the Great sends golden darics to Delphi after his first victories over the Persians.

In the first great collections about 200 talents came in, and during the ten years 367 to 357 quiet building went on at the temple. In 357 the second Sacred War broke out, the Phocians fell on and seized Delphi, and by help of mercenaries, hired with the rich treasures of the temple, dominated the sanctuary for over ten years. Repeatedly they put to flight the Thessalians, the Thebans, and the other armies the Amphictyons brought against them. Still can be seen the inscriptions on the pedestals of the monuments they erected for victories over the Thessalians,[1] and of the afflictions of the Thebans before the intervention of Philip of Macedon, one of Isocrates' speeches bears witness.[2] This impotence of the Hellenes gave occasion for the summoning of Philip to the rescue. He came with his army, conquered the Phocians in 346, reinstated the Amphictyonic Council, but procured the reversion of the two Phocian votes and so great influence over it, and thereby on the policy of Greece, that his protection became fatal to Greek freedom.[3]

Philip's victory put an end to the financial straits of the temple. By way of punishment for their interference, the Phocians were condemned to pay heavy fines, so that in

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 202-3. [2] Isocrates, v. 93-4. [3] Diodorus, xvi. 30-59.

twenty-two years they had to pay altogether 420 talents.[1] Thus the collected sum at the disposal of the authorities for the completion of the temple was raised to 620 talents at least (£124,000), or rather over a half what, according to tradition, the Parthenon cost Athens. But the figure must be raised, for even after the termination of the Phocian War voluntary contributions came in, so that it is quite possible that the total approached or even exceeded 700 talents. On the other hand, part of the money was applied by the Amphictyons for other building purposes both at Delphi and at Thermopylae, and sacred vessels—a golden holy-water vessel and a silver wine-bowl—were purchased for the temple to replace the valuables which in their last desperate defence the Phocians had plundered and put in the melting-pot. So it is not possible exactly to fix the sum it cost to build the temple of Apollo.[2] In 305 B.C. the temple is officially finished and handed over, but the deficient fluting of the columns shows that it was in no way complete, and inscriptions also show us that constant work was going on at its decoration in the third century, in 274–2, 238–6, and in 230 B.C.[3]

Pausanias speaks of Spintharus of Corinth as the architect of the new temple. In inscriptions we find another architect, Xenodorus, from 353 B.C., and later, from 342-30, Agathon, so that we can follow the leaders of the great work through several decades. From the accounts we learn that Xenodorus' monthly salary was sixty drachmae,[4] which corresponds with a modest daily wage of one shilling and fourpence, which, even if one puts the value of money five times higher than it is to-day, is yet a very low sum. Moreover, the accounts of the building commissioners appointed by the Amphictyons (Naopoioi), and after the Phocian War, when the administration became too complicated, those of the treasurers (Tamiai), enlighten us as to every possible technical detail of the building, down to the oiling of cranes, while they throw interesting sidelights on the economic condition of the time and the political

[1] Originally the fine was fixed at 10,000 talents (£2,000,000).
[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, i. 323, 326. [3] Idem, *Sylloge*, 494.
[4] Idem, *Sylloge*, 245, n. 15.

quarrels. "In sharp, coloured outlines we read out of the apparently dull lists of names, formulae, and figures, the consequences of the great events in Hellas in the middle of the fourth century, the defeat of the Phocians, the growing power of Philip, Alexander's destruction of Thebes, and the beginning of his world-dominion. Thus these dry accounts proclaim the history of the great world, and this is their ethos."[1] In the relation of gold coins to the value of silver, which at the beginning of the fourth century had been twelve to one, and now is lowered to ten to one, we trace the effect of Philip's newly opened mines in Mount Pangaeus, on the boundary between Macedon and Thrace, which permitted him to flood Greece with gold coins stamped with his name.[2]

The contracts between the building commissioners and the artisans are interesting. If the contractors do not deliver a work within the time agreed upon, the commissioners deal sharply with them and their sureties. On the other hand, an alteration in the building plan, and thus in the measurements, which can be traced in the actual temple ruins, gives occasion to some confusion, and the commission has to frame new conditions for the cost of stone blocks, the expense of transport, and payment for their placing *in situ*.

Both for squared stone, pillars, and profiled architectural members, there were four special contracts and disbursements. The material was limestone from a quarry between Corinth and Sicyon, and all the pieces were worked a little larger than the desired size, that they might be reduced when they came to be put in place. The hewing and delivery in the quarries gave occasion for the first set of contracts and payments. From Lechaeum, the harbour of Corinth, they were then shipped to Cirrha, the port of Delphi, and then the most difficult and costly transport began, from the mole of Cirrha, on which they were deposited by cranes, to Delphi's lofty Temenos. This caused

[1] Keil, *Hermes*, xxxvii. 527.

[2] Bourguet, *Ruines de Delphes*, 262. We see how at the beginning of the thirties the Amphictyons had new coins struck, both to compete with the Attic and Aeginetan, and also, in face of the already victorious Philip, to emphasize the common Hellenic unity.

a second and third payment, and the rise in cost thus caused was very considerable, for a block of stone, to hew which in the quarry cost thirteen drachmae, was made ten times more costly by transport on sea and land. For more delicate profiled parts the prices were arranged thus: splitting and hewing of a block in the quarry, 61 drachmae; transport by sea, 224 drachmae; transport from Cirrha to Delphi, 420 drachmae. These high freight rates show the insecurity in the conditions of transport at the time, which required high insurances on the part of the contractors. Similar conditions existed everywhere in ancient Hellas. Thus it cost sometimes as much as 400 drachmae to transport a single column drum from the Pentelic quarry to Eleusis.

When the blocks reached Delphi, they received their last treatment above the Temenos, where the dancing-place is now, being hewed ready and painted. Even the final treatment and placing of them on the building were not cheap: we read of two corner-triglyphs of the west façade, the sea transport of which had cost 121 drachmae each, that their working and placing ran up to a total of 280 drachmae.

Many great expenses still remained, even when the stone was procured and *in situ*. For doors and lattices wood was bought in Sicyon and Macedonia, and ivory is prescribed for the decoration of the leaves of doors. From year to year there are great fluctuations in the prices of iron, and how technical and commercial difficulties could go beyond the capacities of the commission we see from the frequent grants of travelling expenses and food to professionals who were summoned from Corinth or Athens.[1]

These numerous and exact pieces of information must be a compensation to us for the wretched preservation of the ruins. The remarkably small remains of so large a temple form, anyhow, a phenomenon which requires explanation.

Pausanias describes the pediments of the temple (x. 19, 4): "In the pediments are represented Artemis, Leto, Apollo and the Muses, the sunset, Dionysus and Bacchantes. The first part of them was executed by Praxias the Athenian,

[1] Bourguet, *Ruines de Delphes*, 260 f.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 246, n. 5.

the pupil of Calamis. But as the building went on slowly, Praxias died, and the rest of the pedimental decoration was executed by Androsthenes, also an Athenian and the pupil of Eucadmus." Of these groups not a splinter remains. Probably in late Roman Imperial times they were carried off to Rome, as was the case with other Greek pedimental sculptures, e.g., the Niobids in the Ny Carlsberg gallery at Copenhagen. From Pausanias we learn that, like the architects, the sculptors relieved one another, because the work went on so slowly. Praxias is named as son of Lysimachus in a sculptor's inscription from Oropus, which can be dated a little before 338 B.C., which would agree excellently.[1] In this case his master, Calamis, is not the older sculptor of that name in the beginning of the fifth century, but a later one, of whom there are other certain traces.[2]

This temple is illustrated on coins of Roman date (second century A.D.), but before that was severely damaged by a fire in 83 B.C. Mark Antony had promised a restoration on a large scale, but did not keep his word, and from texts and inscriptions we cannot see whether Augustus undertook works of repair or was content with letting his wife, Livia, dedicate the great golden *E*, Apollo's mystical letter, which contained the believer's assurance of the god's existence, and which from ancient times had been fixed in wood or bronze on the wall of the vestibule, but now required renovation. Nero's attitude to the temple is marked by that ruler's whimsical capriciousness. First he ordered that the temple should be enlarged and beautified, and sought by a large gift of money to revive the service of the Oracle; afterwards in displeasure he robbed the temple of its domains in the Crisaean plain and distributed them to his soldiers. And finally he is said to have robbed Delphi of 500 of its statues. The Flavian Caesars, however, took a fatherly interest in the old sanctuary, and Domitian had the temple thoroughly restored in A.D. 84. At this time the greater part of the Sacred Way was newly paved (cp. p. 53). Trajan, and especially Hadrian, the friend of the Greeks, did all they could to revive the religious attractions of Delphi,

[1] Loewy, *Griech. Bildhauerinschriften*, 127*a*. [2] Studniczka, *Kalamis*, 5 f., 37.

but their reforms seem to have had no profound effect. The Oracle had lost its power over men's minds. An equally well meant, but still more impotent, attempt was made by the last pagan Emperor, Julian the Apostate; he gave Delphi exemption from taxation and assured the priests of his protection. But the answer was desponding, and gave no hope: "Tell the Emperor that the bright citadel is fallen to the ground; Apollo has no longer any shelter, or oracular laurel-tree, or speaking fountain: even the vocal stream has ceased to flow." [1] In A.D. 390 Theodosius the Great, in the name of Christianity, closed the Oracle. The temple itself was not, like so many other great Greek temples, protected and preserved by being used as a Christian church. The religion of Apollo had been too vigorous for that, one of the most dangerous opponents of the new religion in its early days of struggle. It was, on the contrary, razed to the ground by Theodosius' successor, Arcadius, and how thoroughgoing the destruction was is shown by the sad ruins that alone remain. Of the temple of the fourth century religious fanaticism left nothing but the floor, the temple steps, some column drums, fragments of the architrave and triglyphs, a single metope with traces of one of the Gallic shields, which after the victory over the Gallic hordes in 279 B.C. were hung up on the metopes of the south side, and finally fragments of the lion-heads of the cornice.

But Courby's investigation of these temple foundations [2] has cleared up several points, amongst others the arrangement of the Adyton, the holy of holies, where the priestess received her inspiration and gave her answers. It was a little quadrangular building within the temple cella, erected against its south wall, and interrupting the southern row of columns in the three-aisled cella at the south-west corner. The Adyton was like a small box contained in a bigger one, and was, like the rest of the temple, built of limestone, had a flat wooden ceiling and four smooth walls, one of which was pierced by a door. The interior floor surface measured only fifteen square metres.

[1] Cedrenus, *Hist. comp.*, i. 304; Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle*, 180.
[2] *Fouilles de Delphes*, ii, text.

In this quite small space, in which in antiquity there were consecrated weapons on the walls, a gilded statue of Apollo, and the grave of Dionysus, there are still remains of stone benches on which the inquirers sat, and a staircase leading down to the vault, where the tripod stood and under which ran the prophetic spring. How small is that which, in the glamour of poetry and through the religious reverence of thousands, acquired a mysterious greatness in the imaginations of men! The earth's navel—a little lump of stone; earth's mouth—a poor crack in the rock; and even "The Unapproachable," whence all Hellas for centuries derived counsel and comfort, no bigger than a ship's cabin!

In the foundations of this later temple, and the supporting walls north of it, were found various fragments of the old Alcmaeonid temple used as walling material, both of architecture and sculpture. There are column drums, and two parts of Doric capitals of limestone, two triglyphs and several roof-tiles of marble, and blocks of the architrave both of limestone and marble. Herodotus states that the Alcmaeonids erected the front of the Temple in Parian marble, while the rest was in poros limestone. The finds show that this is right in the main: the front east columns and pedimental figures are of marble, with the pillars of the vestibule; in the original plan the following details were also of marble: the topmost steps, the floor, the antae, and the roofing tiles. All the rest of this great temple is of limestone, and its architectural details agree with the Hekatompedon on the Acropolis, when it had been surrounded with pillars by the Peisistratidae, and with the old Doric temple at Corinth; its length can be reckoned at 59·50 metres, and its breadth at 23·80 metres.[1]

The marble pediments in this earlier temple were flanked by acroteria, figures of victory, one of which is tolerably preserved (fig. 58). The goddess of victory is represented flying with sickle-shaped wings on back and heels, with her left knee raised high, and the right lowered and bent, the old scheme as it was invented by the Chiot master Archermus in the first half of the sixth century, which tenaciously maintained itself till the century's close. The

[1] Courby, op. cit., 92 f.

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Fig. 58.—Nike, pedimental acroterion from the Temple of the Alcmaeonidae.

fragments of the pedimental groups are to be divided, as indicated, by their material into two parts, the east marble, and the west limestone sculptures.[1] Of the marble pediment the best preserved fragment is a lion slaying a hind (fig. 59). The lion's attitude of attack, with body in profile, the head with the strongly stylized snout and mane turned outwards are in the conventional expressive archaic style. But it is something new, and a fine pathetic feature, that the hind thus terribly attacked turns his slender head back and bends his slim neck, so that its under-jaw, in an attitude

Fig. 59.—From the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xxxii).

expressive of weariness but also of pleading, rests on the lion's hairy neck. The big frightened eyes of the creature with the stretched lachrymal gland are touching. On its sides are traces of red colour, drops of blood running down from the lion's mouth and claws over the poor trembling creature. Unfortunately the corresponding group from the left side of the pediment is very ill-preserved, a bull attacked by a lion (fig. 60). Thus much, however, we can see, that the bull defiantly raises his stout neck with the heavy dew-lap. The contrast with the mild hind must have had a fine effect.

[1] *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates 32-4; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1901, 457 f., plates 9-16 and 18-19 (Homolle), and 1914, 327 f., and plate 6 (Courby).

Fig. 60.—Fragments from the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo (*Fouilles de Delphes*, ii).

These two animal groups must be placed towards the corners of the pediment, perhaps with a smaller animal fight in each of the two angles of the pediment, while the middle was occupied by a quadriga, in front view, and by peacefully-standing male nude and female draped figures. The women are of the developed Kore type with high relief folds in their oblique mantles. They come nearest in style to Antenor's Kore on the Acropolis of Athens, in that the dress is still the refined Chiot-Ionic, while the body forms have a heavier, firmer, more Attic structure (fig. 61).[1] All the figures are rough and unfinished behind and provided with clamps to fasten them to the pediment wall.

The composition of this pediment is peculiar. In the middle is Apollo on his chariot probably accompanied by Leto and Artemis, whose head is recovered; then figures at rest, nude grooms and finely dressed ladies probably all divinities; and lastly, in the corners, animals fighting as in the Athenian pediments of Peisistratid date.[2] There is no action or unity in the pediment, which is merely decorative. So far as content is concerned, it is more archaic than the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury (fig. 36). Only the treatment of the nude torso and female draperies shows that we have reached the end of the sixth century B.C.

Of the west pediment-group, exe-

[1] H. Schrader, *Auswahl. arch. Marmorskulpt im Akropolismuseum*, 15 f.
[2] Th. Wiegand, *Die archaische Porosarchitektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, 214 f.; Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, pp. 67 and 76.

cuted in tufa from Parnassus, only two fragments are in tolerable preservation: the lower part of the body of a woman in violent motion from right to left, with fluttering folds and curved centre-seam (Paryphe) in her dress (fig. 62). So a fighting goddess, probably Athena. Of her antagonist the body and right leg are preserved (fig. 63); a nude crouching figure, originally supported on its left hand and with right raised in attitude of defence, a giant seeking to escape, like Hera's opponent in the giant frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (fig. 55). Numerous traces of colour show that the giant's nude body, whose movement and muscle-play are excellent, was red.

The fight and movements of the two figures remind one of the combat of Athena and a giant in the marble pediment-group of the Peisistratid Hekatompedon on the Acropolis of

Fig. 61.—From the east pediment (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv).

Athens.[1] Of the other participators in the fight there is a torso of a man in the skin of an animal, so probably Dionysus or Heracles; and remains of horses' heads and bodies are preserved, which show that the gods had driven

Fig. 62.—Torso from the west pediment (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xxxiii).

to battle as in the Siphnian frieze. But the fragments are not sufficient to form an idea of the composition of the west pediment. Only we believe we may assume that there was the same antithesis between peaceful figures in

[1] Springer, *Kunstgeschichte* (10), 1915, Wolters, 217, fig. 413.

the east and battle scenes in the west pediment as we find in the temple of Zeus at Olympia.[1] And in spite of this fragmentary preservation, these sculptures are of great stylistic importance, because they are so certainly dated to 513–10 B.C. We learn besides how, at this date, the frontal scheme gives way to the violent motion of battle scenes. The style is Attic, somewhat provincial, so that there does not seem to be much advance on the Siphnian Treasury, which is fifteen years earlier.

In the old temple stood in the vestibule Croesus' great silver bowl, executed by Theodorus of Samos[2]; here stood

Fig. 63.—Torso from the west pediment (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xxxiv).

the bronze mast with the three gold stars, which the Aeginetans dedicated after the battle of Salamis[3]; and the inner wall of the temple was splendidly decorated with paintings.[4] Close to the "hearth," in the cella of the temple, where the perpetual fire burned fed by laurel and fir wood, was to be seen the stone Omphalos, crowned by the two golden eagles of Zeus, and Pindar's iron throne, which symbolized the connexion of the Oracle with all that was finest in Greek religious poetry.

[1] Homolle's attempt to make these pedimental groups fit the chorus in Euripides' *Ion*, 190-218, is a mistake; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1902, 588 f.

[2] Herodotus, 1, 51; at the festival of the Theoxenia it was filled to the brim with wine, as was the Panionic mixing-bowl at Delos on Delian festival days; Hypereides (Blass), fr. 69; Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitteil.*, xxx. 219.

[3] Herodotus, viii. 122.

[4] Pliny, xxxv. 138.

X

THE TREASURY OF THE ATHENIANS

IN the completion of the earlier temple of Apollo, Athens, through the family of the Alcmaeonids, had an essential share, and the pediments are of Attic art of 510 B.C. But it was only twenty years later, after the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C., that the Athenians erected a building which was all their own. At the beginning of the fifth century the danger from the East, the expedition of "the bloody dragon" against Hellas, had divided the Greeks into two groups, the bold who wished to defend their liberty, and the timorous who were ready to submit, if they could get tolerable conditions of life. To the first group Athens belonged, to the second Delphi. "The Athenians were the first of all the Greeks, so far as we know, who were wont to attack their enemies at the run, and they were the first who dared to look on Median dress and the men who were clad in it. Hitherto the mere sound of the Median name had been sufficient to frighten the Greeks." In these words Herodotus (vi. 112) sums up his judgment of the battle of Marathon, and of the bitterness of the battle we have an echo in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (1081), where he speaks of the time "when we went out like a swarm of wasps with spear and shield and fought against the Persians, for our hearts were full as it were with sour wine, and we stood there face to face, and bit our lips in our fury."

It was "the bright violet-crowned Athens" which "laid the glorious foundation of freedom," and could exclaim

after the victory: "I will drink to the bright ornament of Hellas's freedom"; and how great the age felt the victory to be when "the sparrow-hawk descended on the eagle's head and tore it with its claws," we see from the epitaph of Aeschylus, which glorifies him as a Marathonian warrior, and has not a word to spare for his poetical achievements.

After the victories over the Persians in 490, and later in 480 and 479 B.C., the gods received their share of the booty, and Delphi also was thanked, though in reality it deserved no gratitude. For Athens, as even the pious Herodotus admits, had won in spite of the Delphic response, which recommended submission. "Not even they could frighten Athens into forsaking Hellas" (Herodotus, vii. 139-41). In the first instance, when Xerxes was advancing, the Athenian ambassadors at Delphi received an answer, which sent them about their business, so they asked a fresh answer as suppliants, saying: "Give us a better answer for our land, lord, or we will remain in thy sanctuary till we die." Only then did the god give the puzzling answer about the wooden walls as the sole salvation of the city, which Themistocles interpreted as synonymous with ships. And it was really the fleet which won the victory. But the truth was that the worldly-wise and faint-hearted priests feared a destruction of Apollo's sanctuary, similar to that which had befallen his temple at Didyma at the hands of the Persians. And this manœuvre was successful: a whole series of memorials was erected, as we shall see, in honour of the victories over Persia, and the fire for the sacrifice after the victory of Plataea was fetched from Delphi. But the sting remained, scepticism began to make way, and Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* is an attempt to fortify the old confidence in the Oracle in the minds of the Athenians.

The treasury of the Athenians (fig. 64) stands on a limestone terrace, a little north of the treasuries of Siphnos and Syracuse, and on a spot where the Sacred Way bends round from west to east (see plan, fig. 7, xi).[1] Its excavation began in April 1893, after the destruction of two houses

[1] Homolle, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1894, 169; 1896, 608 f.; Furtwängler, *Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie*, 1901, i. 392, and 1904, 369; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, 67 f. and 351; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 23.

in Kastri, and by May, the foundations were exposed and numerous blocks and sculptural remains had been found. Excavations then went on, particularly south of the Treasury, and new finds were made in the steep slope. In May and

Fig. 64.—Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi.

June 1894 the excavations went down to the native rock, and the last remains of the building came to light.

The site presented a horrid picture of confusion, and the circumstances of the find gave practically no information as to the position of blocks or metopes. Everything conspired to make the picture a motley one: the site had been constantly built over for ages, and stone carried off to be

used here and there. Some of the metope slabs were used as tombstones for Christian graves of the sixth century A.D. Moreover, the building is on a slope. Whatever did not fall heavily to the ground inside the foundations, rolled down, and earthquakes increased the speed and distance. Even the foundations were split by earthquakes, walls were raised and bulged out, though the architect endeavoured to fasten the stones with strong iron clamps. As a result of earthquake, the light metope slabs took flight through the air, like leaves on an autumn day, and found rest down in ruin heaps from other buildings in the southern part of the Temenos. Nevertheless most of the material was there, and it was determined to re-erect the building. In patriotic enthusiasm modern Athens supplied the cost, and the task was entrusted to the French architect Replat. He went about it with incomparable carefulness. Every stone was measured and examined, and its place in the wall discovered by the following considerations: (1) all the walls of the Treasury are of different thickness; (2) each wall diminishes in thickness upwards, as is usually the case in old buildings; (3) alternate layers are of different height; (4) the clamp-holes in the vertical and horizontal joints must agree from stone to stone; (5) the walls, especially the south walls, are outwardly covered with inscriptions, which run from block to block, and fix the succession of a number of blocks. Reproaches have been directed against Replat for having filled the gaps in the building with blocks cut from the temple of Apollo, and for not having used the antique marble coverings of the antae completely in the restoration. The latter is at any rate quite untrue.

Thus the building is re-erected in the shape of a small temple *in antis* of Parian marble in Doric style, 9·75 metres long and 6·68 metres broad (fig. 64). The entrance is from the east, from a small platform slightly raised above the Sacred Way. In ancient literature it is named by Pausanias, and only once besides with reference to Xenophon, who after the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand dedicated a statue of Apollo, which was set up "in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi."[1] In the inscriptions on the walls

[1] *Anab.*, v. 3, 5.

the building is often named, in that it is ordered that decrees shall be set up " by the treasury of the city," and a Delphian decree is carved on the wall of " the house of the Athenians." [1]

Pausanias (x. 2, 5) states that the treasury of the Athenians was erected in memory of the defeat at Marathon of the Persians under Datis, and on a terrace south of the treasury, parallel with its south wall, is still the old stone base with its inscription: " The Athenians erected in honour of Apollo spoils of the victory over the Medes at Marathon." The inscription became hard to read in course of time and had to be renewed, but under the new letters, in which the carver honourably endeavoured to imitate the archaic characters, are faintly seen the old original ones.[2] On the top of this base can be seen traces of the Persian weapons set up here, and the marks where ten statues stood, of which we know nothing, and which had probably been carried off elsewhere by the time of Pausanias. Strictly the inscription only says that the trophies on this base were dedicated from the spoils of Marathon, and not that the whole treasury was; and since the terrace here towards the south is of limestone, and is not worked into the substructure of the building, there is nothing against separating the terrace from the treasury. There are also authorities who have desired to date the treasury at the end of the sixth century, or in any case to a period before Marathon, and there is still controversy on the point. But the style of the building and the peculiar features of the metopes are in favour of a date contemporaneous with the temple of Aphaia in Aegina, which was erected in the eighties of the fifth century. Both the shape of the echinus and the cornice and the antae agree with the famous temple of Aegina; and even if the clamps are of a rather older form, that proves nothing in a time when old and new shapes are used side by side.[3] There is therefore no reason which compels us to doubt the correctness of Pausanias's dating,

[1] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1896, 608, n. 2.

[2] *Ἀθεναῖοι τ[οὶ] Ἀπόλλον[ι] ἀπὸ Μέδ[ον] ἀκ[ροθ]ίνια τῆς Μαραθ[ῶ]νι μ[άχες]*. Homolle correctly read and restored the inscription; Colin, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 2, 2; *ἀκροθίνια* is used by Thucydides (i. 132) of the snake-tripod erected at Delphi from the booty of Plataea.

[3] Furtwängler, *Aegina*, 67.

even though on the whole it must be admitted that his historical statements are often as incorrect as his topographical data are accurate.[1] We may thus regard the treasury as a memorial of the brilliant Athenian victory at Marathon, as a thankoffering to Apollo, who in any case gave the assurance too late that he had supported the Athenians in the battle.[2]

The limestone terrace along the south wall of the treasury, on which stood the Marathon trophies, was originally larger, and throughout its extent parallel to the south wall of the treasury; but by a readjustment of the Sacred Way, its south-east corner was cut off, and the old votive inscription lost its tail.[3] On the end surface of the block, which thus became the last, is carved an inscription, which shows that this widening of the road and this encroachment on the terrace took place in the third century B.C. In the same century, along the south edge of the terrace were driven down quadrangular pillars, 1½ metres in height, in a row, united by iron bands at the top, which must have destroyed the whole effect of the trophies. It is evident that the driving in of these ugly pillars, which in the course of the second century were covered by inscriptions, was due to necessity, and was meant to prevent further encroachment on the famous little terrace. The reason is to be found in the political condition of Delphi in the third century B.C. In 279 B.C. the Gauls, in their raid into west Greece, made an attack on Delphi, but were driven back by the Aetolian League, and from now on the Aetolians are masters in Delphi, and spite the Athenians in every possible way. So from 263 to 217 B.C. Athens had no representative (Hieromnemon) in the Amphictyonic Council. It is to this bad time that the pillars and the previous encroachment on the terrace belong, and bear witness to the violent struggles in holy spots, which must have been like the disputes of modern nations for every inch of floor-space in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, where the priests fight lustily with their broomsticks, when in course

[1] Pomtow, *Ath. Mitteil.*, xxxi, 1906, 465, n. 1; *Klio*, viii. 1, 106.
[2] Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes*, 96. [3] Colin, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 2, text.

of sweeping, the dirt from one confession passes the stripe in the floor which represents the transition to a new conception of religious truth.

In the second century B.C. Athens recovers its old influence in Delphi, and inscriptions of that date on the treasury walls speak of a brilliant festal procession from Athens to Delphi, which proceeded from the sanctuary of Apollo by the Ilissos at Athens, where a special priesthood, the Pythaists, sat and watched for lightning from Apollo, who thus announced that he desired a festal embassy. Thus the initiative for these processions lay with the Athenians themselves; and after the great festal period of the second century, the poverty of Athens in the first brings about their cessation, until they are revived early in Roman Imperial times.[1] There were to be found in these processions high officials, a small selection of Athenian knights, foot-soldiers, priests and priestesses, heralds and flute-players and trumpeters, female Kanephoroi of high birth, who with gifts preceded the sacrificial animals, a bearer of sacred fire, the priestess of Athena, and finally a band of children, in all—in the procession of 106 B.C.—about 420 persons. Great festivities at Delphi, contests in various forms of sport, chariot-races, horse-races, and musical exhibitions, formed part of the ceremonies.

The names of victors in these contests are inscribed on the treasury walls, partly surrounded by carved wreaths, and the Corinthian Aristonoos had the hymn, with which he won a victory, carved in stone. It is, however, of greater interest that two other hymns sung at these festivals, in 138 and 128 B.C. respectively, are preserved on the south wall of the treasure-house with the ancient notation between the lines of text. The ancient musical notes, shaped like slightly altered letters, can be interpreted by the help of the old writers on musical theory, and it has thus been possible to transcribe them into the modern notation. Manuscripts had already made known to us a chorus fragment from the *Orestes* of Euripides, and a couple of very late Greek hymns provided with notes, and shortly before

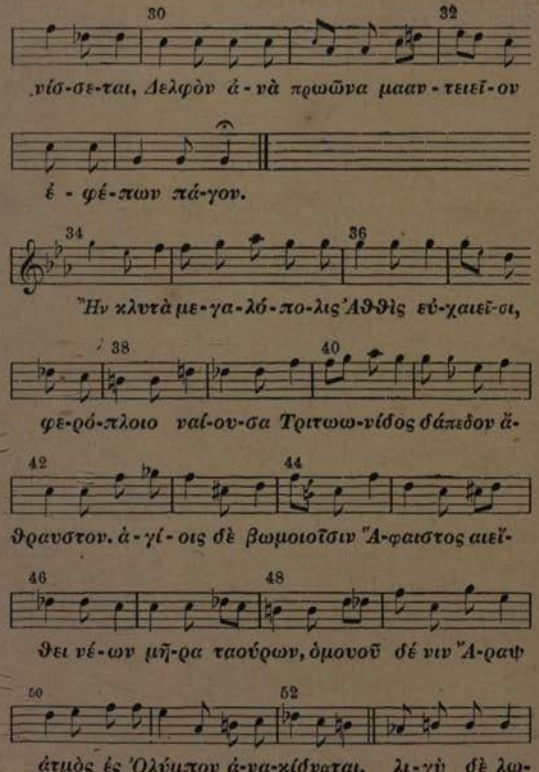
[1] Colin, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1896, 639; Axel Boethius, *Die Pythais*, Upsala Dissertation, 1918.

the Delphic find a fragment of a little dirge, the *Hymn of Seikilos*,[1] had been found on a column at Tralles in Asia Minor; but the two Delphic hymns were the first large Greek compositions to become known, and though there are gaps in the text and notes, especially in the second longer hymn, and it is not the music of the great Greek period, but of the decadence at the close of Hellenism, it is nevertheless an unexpected and welcome initiation into the Greek art of music that we have thus received. They were performed by a chorus of voices to the accompaniment of harps and flutes, and according to the information of other inscriptions, the size of the chorus seems to have varied from forty to sixty performers. It is religious music; one must think of the sounds as accompanying a slowly moving festal procession, and everyone will notice the similarity to Catholic church music, which is only a further development of the ancient choir music. We reproduce here (fig. 65) the notes and the Greek text to the shorter, best-preserved composition, the *Hymn to Apollo*. In translation the Greek text runs as follows:

"Ye (Muses) fair-armed maidens of high-thundering Zeus! Ye who have inherited Helicon with its deep woods! Hasten to inspire with your songs your golden-haired brother Phoebus, who on the cleft summits of Parnassus, followed by the renowned Delphian women, hastens to Castalia's charming spring, dwelling on the Delphic mount, the oracular height. Hither came famous Attica, the nation of the great city, which, thanks to the prayers of the warlike Tritonis (Athena), cannot be laid waste. On the holy altars Hephaestus consumes the thigh-bones of young bulls, and mixed with their scent the smoke of Arabian incense rises to Olympus. The clear-sounding lotus-flute sounds in alternating tune, and the golden harp with its gentle sound answers to the hymns. And the whole swarm of the Attic guilds of artists praises thy honour, thou great son of Zeus, on these snow-crowned heights. Thou that revealest to all mortals infallible oracular response! They sing of how thou didst conquer the prophetic tripod, which a wild dragon watched, in that thou with thine arrows didst

[1] Carolus Janus, *Musici scriptores graeci*, Leipzig, 1899.

ϑυ notam Θ videre sibi videbatur Cr. 12 super λε notam c RG. 22 ταᾶσδε vocalem repetitam Gev. 459 revocat ad morem quendam canendi quem *aspirato* dicant.



scripta nota O (= *h*), an scribenda Θ (= *es*). 50 Ὀλ.] lapis Ὑλόμπον.

R¹ 389). 78 ἔπεα W², λόγια W¹, σέ κελαδήσομεν Cr. sonos J. 81 s. sonos J.

Fr. 2. ..οστ.. Fr. 3. ι-να-ο .... εν...

verba suppl. Cr., sonos J. 101 Φ an Λ ?

Fig. 65.

pierce the twisted monster, till the creature, uttering manifold fearful cries, died. But nevertheless would the Gallic horde . . ."[1] Here the fragment ends. The last words allude to the attack of the Gauls on Delphi in 279 B.C.

Now we pass to an examination of the building itself. The treasury of the Athenians is not a particularly beautiful building (see again fig. 64). The low roof, and in consequence the squat pediment, make it heavy to look at, without slenderness, elevation, or grace. There is Dorian strength and dignity in the façade, but on the other sides the building is like a heavy broad box.

Originally there were pedimental sculptures, but they are all gone, possibly carried away to Rome. It has been proposed to refer to them a torso of Heracles found close by, but this is uncertain. The holes in the plinths, in which the figures were fastened, remain, and they proclaim a technique not of the sixth century, but agree with the traces of clamp we find in the Aeginetan pediments.[2]

But considerable fragments remain of the two acroteria, riders sitting sideways on horses and clad in chiton and corslet and with quivers on their backs. A comparison with one of the metopes shows that they were Amazons in flight, but turning to shoot back (fig. 66). Amazons without the usual long trousers are not unknown in this period,[3] and the *motif*, side-saddle riders, is repeated in a contemporary temple at Locri, where they are Dioscuri riding over the sea,[4] on South Italian coins, and in Etruscan tombs of the beginning of the fifth century (*Tomba della Scimia* at Chiusi, *Tomba del Triclinio* at Corneto).

As in all Doric buildings, the frieze was divided into triglyphs and metopes, the latter all decorated with reliefs. In all there were thirty metopes, six on each narrow, and nine on each long side, and they were of more fine-grained marble than the triglyphs, whose surfaces were covered with colour. The metopes, whose breadth is about 60 centi-

[1] Colin and Th. Reinach, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 2, 147, plate x.
[2] Furtwängler, *Aegina*, 204. [3] L. Curtius, *Athen. Mitteil.*, 1905, 379.
[4] Scholars disagree as to how far these Locrian sculptures were pedimental figures (Petersen, *Römische Mitteil.*, v, 1890, 201, plate 9) or acroteria (Koldewey-Puchstein, *Die griech. Tempel Unteritaliens*, 8).

metres, are of uniform style but different excellence of workmanship, which points to the distribution of the work among various stone-cutters. They were much fractured; of some only unimportant fragments were found, and as was stated above, they were for the most part flung over the site in wild confusion. They are divided, according to subject, into three groups: (1) the adventures of Heracles; (2) the exploits of Theseus; (3) battles with Amazons. The originals are now in the Museum at Delphi: on the building

Fig. 66.—Acroterion fragment from the Treasury of the Athenians (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xlvi, xlvii).

itself are casts, and the distribution of the metopes is arbitrarily arranged from the decorative point of view, as those in the best state of preservation have been placed on the east and south sides, which alone are visible from the Sacred Way.

Perdrizet, after careful technical studies, proposed a distribution,[1] which later was slightly altered by Homolle in a lecture, which he very readily placed at my disposal. Both scholars agree that the Heracles metopes must be

[1] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1904, 334

placed on the north side, since they were chiefly found along the north wall of the treasury in the excavations of 1893, so that Homolle actually believed for a time that the exploits of Heracles were the sole subject of the metopes. The Theseus metopes belong to the south side; the second metope, coming from the west, can be certainly assigned to its place by a peculiar oblique cutting of its edge, which has its counterpart in the triglyph edge; and the place of the triglyph is fixed by Replat's measurements. Equally certain is the placing of the most southern metope on the west side, for here there are similar agreements in oblique working of the edges of the triglyph and metope. But this west metope represents a nude Greek with a big shield laying low an Amazon. Homolle therefore proposes to place the Amazon battles on east and west sides, giving six metopes to each side, while Perdrizet prefers to divide the Heracles metopes between the north and east sides, those of Theseus on the south and west sides, and not to separate the Amazon battles from the series devoted to the combats of the two heroes. I follow Homolle, though I would point out that the distribution is less important than the determination of the actual reliefs.

We begin with the nine Heracles metopes from the north side. Heracles, the Dorian hero, the son of Alcmena of Thebes, "the only place where mortal women bear gods," Heracles, "who restored the worship of the gods when it wavered under the audacious hands of criminals," in the sixth century, when the Rhodian Pisander, in an Epic poem, had endowed him with the famous Twelve Labours, and armed him with club and lion-skin,[1] had been the favourite theme of poets and artists, and, as black-figured vases and the old pedimental groups of the Acropolis show, this was equally true of Athens. But after the liberation from the tyranny of the Peisistratidae in 510 B.C., Athens had begun to worship Theseus as the personification of democracy, and during and after the Persian Wars, he was also made the first defender of Greek liberty. It is a development which makes great progress in the course of the fifth century, and in the *Supplices* of Euripides the tirades of Theseus in

[1] Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, i. 309; Theocritus, *Epigram*, 20.

honour of liberty are so modern, that they border on the nauseous (403 f.). At the same time Theseus takes over a series of the exploits of Heracles, and combats with new monsters are invented in his honour, and the most charming explanations are given of the way in which this new Heracles (ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς) took the place of the old hero, when he became full of days.[1] In plastic art the two heroic forms continue quite peaceably side by side, and their exploits are described with equal sympathy even in the middle of the century in the metopes of the so-called Theseum[2]; but in Attic poetry Heracles sinks into a comic figure, not only in the comedies of Aristophanes,[3] but even in tragedy. Thus even in the *Alcestis* of Euripides, where Heracles is the saviour of the chief character, he is depicted with comic features; he is a gross feeder and a drunkard, and under the influence of drink sings discordant songs. Only towards the end of the century is Heracles rehabilitated in the *Heracles* of Euripides and the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles.[4]

We find here in the treasury of the Athenians the beginning of this development in the arrangement of the metopes; those of Heracles being put on the north side almost out of sight; while the adventures of Theseus are unfolded on the sunny south side, where the whole series was visible from the Sacred Way. Among the exploits of Heracles, the battle with the monster Geryon on the island of Erytheia in the far west is depicted on no fewer than six metopes.[5] On the first nothing is preserved but the hero's foot and the body of Geryon's dog Orthros, his tail being raised, and no doubt as usual terminated by a snake-head (fig. 67). Heracles has laid the dog low, and probably, as in the corresponding metope of the Theseum,[6] is about to discharge an arrow against Geryon himself.

Geryon fills a whole metope (fig. 68), and so far as can be seen from the fragment, has not the usual three bodies, but two joined together, which is very rare.[7] The body

[1] Plutarch, *Theseus*, 6, 29; Isocrates, viii. 35 f.
Pottier, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, ix, 1901, 1 f.
[3] Aristophanes, *Pax*, 741 f. [4] Jebb, *Trachiniae* (Cambridge, 1892), p. xxi.
[5] *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xliv-xlv, 1-5.
[6] Sauer, *Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*, 176 f. and plate vi, E. metope viii.
[7] Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. Hercules, 92; Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder*, plate x.

Fig. 67.—Heracles and Orthros (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xliv, xlv).

Fig. 68.—Geryon (*Fouilles de Delphes*, ibid.).

in front view, in chiton and leather jerkin, has been struck by an arrow in the side, and is collapsing backwards and out of the plane of the relief, with a strong twist in the hip, reminding one of the fallen warrior in the corner of the east pediment of Aegina. The hinder body is seen from the back, with locks fluttering over the shoulders, raised right arm, which certainly held a spear, and a shield which covers the left side and shoulder. In spite of the destruction of

Fig. 69.—Metope with one of Geryon's cows
(*Fouilles de Delphes*, ibid.).

the relief, one feels the vigorous impulse in these indefatigably fighting bodies.

Next come four metopes representing the oxen of Geryon, stolen and driven away by Heracles. One is almost entirely destroyed. On most were represented two cows, all in a bad state of preservation, and we may be content with illustrating a single fragment with a cow quietly standing (fig. 69). The cows are very lean animals and the modelling is not good; the execution was probably left to inferior carvers. The delight in representing this good, vigorous

animal, which a few decades later reached its height in Myron's famous cow, is a legacy from early archaic art, and explains why so many of these metopes are given over to what are, according to our ideas, uninteresting subjects. In a relief on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, one of the chief works of the sixth century, the carrying off of the cattle was represented without the actual fight with Geryon,[1]

Fig. 70.—Heracles and the Nemean lion (*Fouilles de Delphes*, ibid.).

and in black- and red-figured vases the cows take as prominent a place as here in the metope.[2]

The metope with the fight of Heracles with the Nemean lion (fig. 70) is also badly preserved. This contest is the prototype of the Pancratium (a combination of wrestling and boxing).[3] Heracles, standing, is wrestling with the lion, which he has lifted and is trying to strangle between his sinewy arms, while it flounders and sets a hind-leg on

[1] Pausanias, iii. 18, 13.
[2] W. Klein, *Euphronios*, 58 f.; Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, i. 2203.
[3] Bacchylides, *Ode* 13.

his thigh. Behind the hero hang quiver, bow, and chiton, to fill the surface of the background. While the lion's body is too much destroyed for a judgment to be formed of it—holes on the neck point to manelocks of lead or bronze having been inserted—the nude body of the hero proclaims a good eye for anatomy, and the strain involved in the throttling of the animal is excellently expressed in the prominent bare leg and stretching of the abdomen. Throttling—Trachelismos [1]—in black-figured vases is as a rule represented, as here, in standing combat (ὀρθοπάλη) (fig. 71); in the red-figured style the battle takes place more commonly in recumbent or kneeling postures.[2] That is based on the idea that the lion could not be slain by brass or iron. In one of the idylls of Theocritus,[3] the fighting scheme is better thought out than in the plastic representations, in that Heracles seizes the lion from behind, places his heels on its back paws, and presses his thighs about its rump, to hinder it from using the strong claws, which in the metopes and vase-paintings are in full activity.

Fig. 71.—Heracles and the lion (b.f. vase).

Only two of the Heracles metopes are sufficiently well preserved to permit of stylistic observations. One represents him laying low the Cerynean stag (fig. 72).[4] On b.f. vases of the sixth century, the hero is seen running alongside of the stag, which he has seized by the antlers. Our metope, along with a vase of severe r.f. style, is the first example of the new fighting scheme, which later becomes universal[5]; its

[1] Norman Gardiner, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxv, 1905, p. 294 f.
[2] Reisch, *Athen. Mitteil.*, xii, 1887, 121.
[3] Theocr., xxv. 266 f.
[4] Furtwängler, *Aegina*, 309, 351.
[5] Idem in Roscher, *Lexikon*, i. 2200 and 2224; *Olympia*, iii, plate 38; Sauer, *Theseion*, plate vi, E. metope iii.

technical name "wrestling stairs" (ἀμφίπλεκτοι κλίμακες) is found in a passage of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* (250). Heracles puts one knee on the back of the stag and twists its head back and down. In the metope the composition is still quite primitive, for Heracles hovers unnaturally high above the hind, that has fallen on its knees, the body of the animal alone being preserved. His one shoulder with the raised arm, which probably brandished the club, thus

Fig. 72.—Heracles and the Ceryneian stag (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xli).

intersects the upper frame of the field. Behind him hang quiver and chiton, while the lion's skin, "whose fiery-red throat gapes over the hero's fair locks," and whose paws, fastened before his breast, are executed in great detail, almost as if they were chiselled in bronze, is thrown over his back. The hero's nude body is finely developed in the relief. The chest is stretched tight, with all the ribs and saw-muscles lying hard under the skin, and its high

edge is joined to the foremost borders of the oblique abdomen muscles and serves thus as a firm frame round the softer parts of the abdomen. This frame round the abdomen is genuinely Attic; it meets us as early as the sixth century in the Greek horseman of the Acropolis and appears again in torsos from Daphne and Delos,[1] which are contemporary, and with regard to the last so closely akin to the metopes of the Athenian treasury that they seem to be executed by the same artist. Under the chest the epigastrium is divided by the navel stripe, which is unusually deep, and by two horizontal intersections into four sections. This division only by two intersections is universal in Greek art at the time of the Persian wars, and together with the little fold of skin over the navel, which is also in the metope, appears in Attic sculpture of the eighties, e.g. in the fine statue of an Ephebus from the Acropolis, which is universally ascribed to the artists of the "Tyrannicides."[2] Thus we have won a fixed point in favour of the dating to the period after the battle of Marathon and in agreement with the text of Pausanias.

In the intense passion with which not only the bone structure is treated, but also the harmony between motion and muscles is emphasized, there is something peculiar to the period, an effervescing vigour and impatience, which is repeated in the Aeginetan sculptures and belongs to the art of this transitional period. An effort is made at a thorough representation of the human body in all kinds of movements in this or that given action, but not, on the other hand, at characterizing the structure of an individual body defined by nature and education. Glance at the nude figures of the other metopes in succession: they are all alike; all are formed like Heracles, both Theseus and the Minotaur and Cycnus! In this point Attic sculpture is like Attic poetry. The three great tragedians also give excellent representations of the behaviour of the typical man in these or those definite situations, but do not know of characters with individual aptitudes and the impress of

[1] Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, 50 and 124, nr. 590; Delbrück, *Athen. Mitteil.*, xxv, 1900, 377 f.; L. Curtius, text to Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, plates 601-4.

[2] Dickins, *Catalogue*, 264, nr. 698.

special calling or experience of life. It is only in Hellenistic poetry and art that we find individualism in the modern sense of the word.

In spite of agreement in design and capacity between these metopes and the contemporary sculptures of Aegina, there are great differences. There is nothing here of the really dry leanness of the Aeginetan figures, but sound Attic plumpness in the figure of Heracles; and this applies

Fig. 73.—Head of Phormis, from Olympia.

both to the body with the fleshy thighs and the face with its round Attic form. The curls in the beard and hair are rendered by small pellets which over the forehead form a fringe of two rows with a third flatter series of locks beneath them. Both the structure of the head and the forms of beard and hair agree exactly with a good Attic head of this period found in Olympia, and, if Furtwängler's interpretation of it as Phormis be correct, belonging to a Sicilian

group set up in the eighties of the fifth century, but also ordered from an Attic artist (fig. 73).[1]

The last of the metopes of the north side represents the

Fig. 74.—Metope of fight between Heracles and Cycnus (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xlii).

fight between Heracles and Cycnus (fig. 74). The story, which appears on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, on archaic gems and b.f. vases,[2] is fully treated in the Epic

[1] *Olympia*, iii. 29 f., and plate vi. 1-2; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, 347 f.

[2] *Annali*, 1880, 80 f., plate M; *Monumenti*, xi, plate xxiv; Roscher, *Lexikon*, i. 2210; Gerhard, *A. V.*, plates 122, 123.

poem, *The Shield of Heracles*, and runs there as follows: Cycnus, a son of Ares, lived by the Pagasaean grove in Thessaly, and surprised and robbed the processions on their way to the neighbouring sanctuary of Apollo. By command of Apollo, Heracles attacked him, and laid him low in single combat, during which Ares assisted his son.[1]

In the metope there is not room, as in vase-paintings and poetry, for the chariots and horses, but only for the two combatants, and Heracles, who is usually shown attacking from the left as fully armed hoplite, here stands nude on the right of the scene, and thus holds his weapon in his left hand while with his right he grasps at the plume of his enemy's helmet. This unusual position is due to the desire of showing Heracles' body in its full extent, and the body of Cycnus with shield as background. This noticeable and unnatural battle scheme is repeated in one of the Amazon metopes. It is the case with the artists of these metopes that, in contrast with what was the rule in the Giant frieze of the Siphnian treasury, they avoid letting the shields cover the bodies, and always and monotonously use them as background for the figures. In another way this Cycnus is a characteristic figure; he is one of the many figures "falling obliquely backwards" in these metopes, an attitude pointed out by Furtwängler, which has occasioned him to assume similar oblique positions in two figures of the east pediment of Aegina. But, as Mackenzie has pointed out, this posture is unthinkable in free sculpture; and on this point, Thorwaldsen's reconstruction of the Aegina pediments is certainly more correct than the modern one.[2]

Cycnus' body shows fine and good rendering of form answering to that of Heracles in the previous metope. Heracles appears without lion-skin, but as a set-off his helmet is shaped like a piece of wrinkled lion-snout. A similar characteristic of Heracles with his lion-skin helmet is given in the armoured archer of the east pediment of Aegina, but nowhere else in ancient sculpture. Another

[1] Hesiod, *Aspis*, 70; Scholia to Pindar, *Olymp.*, x. 19; Eur., *Heracles*, 389.
[2] *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xv, 1908-9, 274; against this Wolters, *Sitzungsber. der bayr. Akad.*, 1912, App. 5, 13 f.

feature in favour of contemporary origin is thus met with.

Of the metopes of the south side, with Theseus's exploits Perdrizet gives the place of honour furthest to east to the

Fig. 75.—Athena and Theseus on a metope (*Fouilles de Delphes* iv, plate xxxviii).

attractive "sacra conversazione" between Theseus and Athena (fig. 75). This is confirmed for once by the circumstances of the find, in that the remains of this relief were excavated in 1893 and 1894, together with the

anta-blocks from the south side, on which were inscribed the Delphian hymns with notation, the place of which is fixed nearest the east by the entrance. Theseus receives from the goddess blessing and strength for his great task "to bring to justice offenders," as it is stated and described in a contemporary ode by Bacchylides.[1] The young hero raises his hand in greeting. The stretched forearm is the best rendering of muscles in the whole treasury. By the elbow a vein is indicated. He is clad in chiton, and over it a short cape fastened on the right shoulder, and like the goddess wears sandals, the straps of which were painted on the foot. The left hand is closely pressed against the hip. Athena's bust is covered by the aegis, the numerous holes in which point to rich metal decoration. What was fastened in the big square hole under the aegis is doubtful. The right arm, which possibly held a small shield much foreshortened, supported by strong metal nails, was specially added. The left outstretched hand probably rested on the spear, once more a noticeable exchange of weapons, as in the Heracles-Cycnus metope. Under the aegis Athena wears the usual archaic garment, the oblique cape, with steep middle fold (Paryphe) and elegant folds parallel to it. The thick material reveals the form of the legs and curved surface of the thigh, the fine rounding of the knee-caps, the sharp shin-bone, the taut fibula, and finally the small, carefully rendered ankles.

According to the general chronology,[2] Theseus's first adventure, after he left Troizen, was the battle with the club-man, Periphetes, at Epidaurus. The battle is wanting in the eighteenth *Ode* of Bacchylides, and on older Greek vase-paintings,[3] but is represented in one of the eight metopes of the Theseum.[4] Here too the subject occurred, but the metope is badly preserved (fig. 76). To the right we see the outstretched body of Theseus, who, while lifting his right leg, probably swung over his head the iron club, which he had wrested from his opponent for the death-blow. Periphetes has an animal skin over his shoulders, and a

[1] xviii. 41. [2] Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8-11; Diodorus, iv. 59.
[3] Robert, *Hermes*, xxxiii, 1894, 149.
[4] Sauer, *Theseion*, plate v. 5, metopes I and P, 158.

bandage on the left thigh, which is explained in a passage of Apollodorus,[1] where it is stated that, as son of Hephaestus, he had weak legs.

Of the next adventure, Theseus and the robber Sinis, who at the Isthmus tied wayfarers to pine-trees, and then let them fly back into the air and tear the victim to pieces, and now received the same cruel death from Theseus, only a small fragment with the pine trunk remains.[2] The

Fig. 76.—Theseus and Periphetes (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xlvi, xlvii, 5).

fight with the wild boar of Crommyon seems to have been omitted from the series.

There is not much left of Theseus's victory over the giant Sciron, who threw wayfarers over a cliff to a gigantic crab or tortoise, which ate them.[3] The crab is a legacy from the myth of Heracles, in which it appears in the fight of the Hydra against Heracles or Iolaus. How it became a gigantic tortoise we do not know. In a metope from the Theseum we

[1] *Bibliotheca*, iii. 161. [2] Cp. Sauer, *Theseion*, plate v, S. metope ii.
[3] Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10; Diodorus, iv. 59, 4.

Fig. 77.—Sciron (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xlvi, xlvii, 4).

Fig. 78.—Cercyon and Theseus (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xlvi, xlvii, 2).

see both cliff and crab[1]; neither is to be seen in the fragment from the Athenian treasury, and we see only the giant himself, not in process of being thrown over, but sinking down with broken knee like the other defeated personages in the metopes (fig. 77). He is bearded, and resembles a Silenus. The contours of his body were certainly well rendered, but there is no originality in the posture.

There is more life in the metope with the representation of Theseus wrestling with Cercyon (fig. 78). Theseus has grasped his antagonist round the body and lifted him up, has taken hold of Cercyon's right arm, and is now

Fig. 79.—Red-figured vase in Berlin.

exerting pressure in the direction of his shoulders, while Cercyon is straining in the opposite direction with bending body and head. The idea is, that the next moment Theseus will essay to hurl his antagonist leftwards over his head, and give him what is called in English " the flying mare," which the Greeks knew, and described by the phrase εἰς ὕψος ἀναβαστάσαι.[2] This grip as practised by contemporary wrestlers is illustrated in its various stages on Greek vase-paintings. In a Berlin amphora (fig. 79) we see in the central group the beginning, the first grip of the opponent's wrists, in two other vase-paintings (figs. 80 and 81)

[1] Sauer, *Theseion*, plate v, N. metope ii, and p. 165.
[2] Norman Gardiner, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxv, 1905, 267.

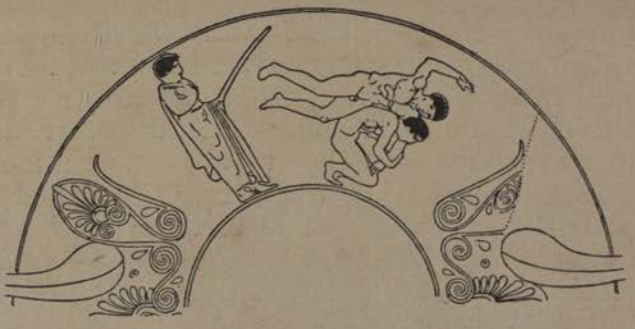


Fig. 80.—Red-figured cylix in British Museum.
Fig. 81.—Red-figured cylix interior, Paris.
Fig. 82.—Black-figured vase in British Museum.

the flight over the shoulder of the attacker, and with comical effect Heracles himself has condescended to use the "flying mare" against the Nemean lion (fig. 82). In the corresponding metope of the Theseum, Theseus tried a different scheme, the "heave" practised in wrestling circles in the West of England, Cercyon here being lifted into an almost horizontal position (fig. 83).

Of the metope with Procrustes, or, as Bacchylides calls him, Prokoptas, only unimportant fragments remain.

After his arrival at Athens, Theseus' first exploit was the capture of the Marathonian bull, which made the neighbourhood unsafe. Here the fragment preserved, though small, is of great interest (fig. 84). The bull has his forehead pressed on the ground, perhaps in consequence of a lasso, which thrown by Theseus has fastened his fore-legs together.[1] The modelling of the bull is far better than

Fig. 83.—Metope of Theseum.

Fig. 84.—The Marathonian Bull (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xxxix).

[1] S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases*, i. 339, 529, 531, 532.

that of Geryon's oxen in the Heracles series. Both thigh-muscles, shoulder-blade, and neck-folds are excellent, and before the original in the Museum at Delphi one is amazed at the characterization of the elastic mass of the snout.

Fig. 85.—Theseus and Minotaur (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xxxix)

The place on the south side of the eighth metope is fixed by Perdrizet's technical observations. It is the fight with the Minotaur (fig. 85).[1] Theseus, clad in a short chiton with

[1] For this motive common by the sixth century see Bethe, *Rhein. Museum*, lxv, 1910, 222; Wolters, *Sitzber. der bayr. Akad.*, 1907, 113.

deep parallel wavy folds, with a quick stride has seized the monster by the left horn with his left hand, and probably carried a sword—the sheath is seen behind him—in his right hand. With uplifted hand the Minotaur strives to free himself from the grip. Of special elegance are not merely the lines in Theseus' dress, which remind one of the Charites relief from the Acropolis,[1] but also the stylized neck-folds and forehead wrinkles of the Minotaur, and the fine layer of hair between the monster's horns. Even the nails on Theseus's left hand are rendered with fine detail. Far more important is the modelling of the nude body of the Minotaur, in which the forms are broader and bolder than in any other metope. There is a large conception of form. There is not the same feverish expression of detail, as, e.g., in Heracles with the Ceryneian hind (fig. 72). At the same time the pelvis is more rounded, the navel set deeper, in softer surroundings. All these are features pointing forward to the great art of the middle of the fifth century, and we may call the artist of this metope a precursor of Pheidias.

Finally, according to Homolle's latest investigations, it is probable that we should put as the ninth and western metope on the south side the pretty representation of Theseus laying low Antiope, the Amazon queen (fig. 86). By its content this forms a natural transition to the Amazon combats of the west side. It is originally an adventure of Heracles, which is modified by poetry in the sense that Theseus, as participator in the expedition of Heracles against the Amazons, overcomes and carries off the Amazon queen, who falls in love with him, and becomes his faithful ally when later her countrywomen march against Athens. Theseus to the left in the metope is, so far as the remains permit a decision, represented in a violent striding posture, in which the torso reacts by leaning over, while his head is lowered in profile and seen against the edge of his shoulder. Here at last we find a well-preserved head of Theseus, with short snail-curls on the forehead under the rim of the helmet, and softly waving shoulder tresses. These, along with his

[1] Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole*, plate iii; cp. 151, fig. 8.

beardlessness, characterize him as the quite young hero in contrast with the mature Heracles. Here, as in Attic poetry and legend, he is an Ephebus, and a tinge of refined youth, combined with courage and strength, gives Theseus

Fig. 86.—Theseus and Antiope (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xl).

his special charm. The face has the same rich fullness as that of Heracles. In the cheeks and lips are traced the last reflex of the smile of Ionic archaism, which only ten years later gives way to the seriousness of the severe style.

But fairer than Theseus is Antiope. She bends her head

like a flower withering on its stem. This gives not only a graceful outline, but a pictorial advantage, for her profile is set off against the surface of the leather jerkin and the long locks which cover her right shoulder. In the same way Theseus's bare body is set off against his big cloak. Everywhere pictorial considerations are taken into account by the artists of these metopes.

With a single exception it is impossible to distribute accurately the Amazon battles on the east and west sides, and the order of succession in our description is therefore quite accidental. To the fifth-century Athenians the Amazons were the mythical precursors of the Persian invaders; like the Persians they came from the steppes of Asia and Scythia, "from the desolate region of the cold wind"[1]; and while in the sixth century Heracles had been their worst opponent, Theseus took his place in the fifth, and as defender of Greek liberty, organized his people against them. The Amazonomachia became a favourite subject employed by the painter Polygnotus in a great fresco in the Poikile Stoa[2] at Athens, by Pheidias on the throne of Zeus at Olympia,[3] and the exterior of the Parthenos shield, and even in the fourth century was used by the Attic orators, Lysias[4] and Isocrates,[5] when they wished to remind their hearers of the great struggles of the past. To the Greeks the Amazons were not mythical, but actual historical personages. We see that most clearly in the way in which Hippocrates writes of their mutilations of the male children they were so unlucky as to bear.[6] Thus in the battles with "the daughters of Ares" in the Athenian treasury we must see the earliest glorification of the first victory over their long-trousered descendants the Persians, an additional confirmation of the view that the battle of Marathon is the presupposition of the construction of the treasury.

The only Amazon metope whose place is fixed by the above-mentioned oblique working of the edge is the most southern on the west side (fig. 87). A nude Athenian with a big round shield against the background rushes against an Amazon, who has fallen on her knee, in exactly the same

[1] Pindar, *Olymp.*, xiii. 125. [2] Pausanias, i. 15, 2. [3] Idem, v. 11, 7.
[4] Lysias, ii. 4-6. [5] Isocrates, iv. 68-70, and vii. 75. [6] Περὶ ἀρθρων, 53.

attitude as that of Sciron (fig. 77). She wears chiton, jerkin, long trousers, and ankle-ring; notwithstanding the trousers the muscles of the legs are treated in detail.

Fig. 87.—Athenian and Amazon (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xliii).

Two holes on the left hip served to fasten the quiver, which, with Amazons as with Scythians and Persians,[1] is thought of as suspended and carried not on the back, but under the armpit at the side. The epigastrium of the attacking

[1] ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος βέλη; cp. Pindar, *Olymp.*, ii. 50 and Scholia; Herodotus, vii. 61.

Greek is well modelled, and the slight turn of the body is felt and freshly rendered, and gives occasion to correctly rendered irregularities in the course of the muscles.

In spite of bad preservation, we see amusing outlines in a metope (fig. 88) representing the taking of a prisoner (ἡ ζωγρεία). An Athenian with shoulder tresses like Theseus is dragging an Amazon after him by the arm. In the original the female breast is plainly seen under the

Fig. 88.—Athenian and captive Amazon (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xlviii, 2).

jerkin. He bends forward and pulls, she curves her back and resists. In this relief the outlines were unusually expressive.

Of another metope only one fragment remains (fig. 89). A fallen Amazon is sinking backwards. Her legs give way under her, and while the quiver on her hip rattles to the ground, her belt breaks. There is a unique dramatic power in this representation, which makes the loss of the remainder regrettable. Not only is there no counterpart in the figures in like posture of this treasury, but all the falling Amazons in contemporary Greek art seem tame in com-

Fig. 89.—Metope fragment with fallen Amazon (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xlviii, 4).

parison, both the Amazon with an elegant movement of her hand in a relief pediment from Thebes (fig. 90), and the exhausted figure in the pretty Krater of Ruvo (fig. 91).

Corresponding with the riding Amazons as acroteria (above, fig. 66), we see also in one of the metopes an Amazon riding

Fig. 90.—Fragment of relief pediment from Thebes.

sideways, turning the upper part of her body back, and as she flees shooting an arrow against the enemy (fig. 92). Perdrizet is certainly right in putting it as the most northern metope on the west side, so that the horse is really galloping off the field. The original shows it to be an Amazon; there is no indication of male sex, and there are holes in the leather jerkin for a metal quiver.

Apart from the smaller fragments, which it would not be worth while to illustrate and describe, there is also in this Amazon series a metope with a duel, in which Homolle and Perdrizet proposed originally to see the contest of

Fig. 91.—Heracles and Amazons (Ruvo).

Theseus and Pallas for Attica (fig. 93).[1] But renewed investigations made in the Louvre by Homolle with casts, as he kindly informs me, have had the result that the attacking figure to right, besides the trouser-band and ankle-ring, is characterized as female by an ear-ring hole in the ear preserved. It is thus an Amazon, and, which is specially interesting, a victorious one laying her opponent low. It is no giant battle in which the gods must everywhere win the day. The artist permits himself this variation in the monotonous scenes of conflict, that the Amazon once is triumphant. The body of the falling Greek is a typical

[1] For this legend, which is not found in Bacchylides, but occurs first in Sophocles and Philochorus, see Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, i. 20; Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, i, Philoch. fr. 36; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 13.

Fig. 92.—Amazon in retreat (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xlvi, xlvii, 7).

Fig. 93.—Amazon and Greek (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate xlviii, 1).

example of the methods of these artists in the strong prominence of the chest and the oblique abdomen muscles framed by the softer parts, in the clear sections and the deeply cut navel line. In spite of destruction, we see in the original how brilliant was the execution of the warrior's left hand with the vigorous play of the fingers about the shield-strap.

We can sum up our impressions of all these much-damaged metopes in the two following observations. Here we have late archaism; the elegance of Peisistratid times is not gone. Witness the dress of Athena (fig. 75) and Theseus in combat with the Minotaur (fig. 85). But it is in process of giving way to a boldness and vigour which suits well the period of Marathon. We have not here the

solid fullness of the Ionic sculpture, forms that illustrate Herodotus' word for the aristocrats of the period (οἱ παχεῖς). But, on the other hand, it is not the stiff leanness of the Aeginetan sculptures, bodies thoroughly trained and relieved of superfluous fat by persistent bodily exercises. It is the middle between both extremes, sound muscular fullness, which we know from later Attic sculpture. Virtue as a kind of middle path (μεσότης τις ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετή),[1] which is the foundation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, and the art of limitation, as the Pythagoreans express it, that the bad is equivalent to the unlimited, the good is of the nature of the limit, are actually translated into fact in Attic art of the fifth century. Thus it is the importance of these few and badly preserved sculptures, that they are the first to reveal to us the Attic combination of Ionic and Doric ideals, and that here already we have the successful harmony about to appear which, half a century later, is in full bloom in the sculptures of the Parthenon.

[1] Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.*, ii. 6 (1106*b*).

XI

WAR MONUMENTS IN DELPHI

TO go through the memorials of succeeding ages in Delphi is like a complete course in Greek military history of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

At the foot of the Pelargikó is the Stoa of the Athenians, a colonnade thirty metres long, which, by reason of its slight depth (3·70 metres), has rightly been compared with a skittle-alley. It had eight monolithic columns in front, of which three were sufficiently preserved to be re-erected; their shafts are of Pentelic marble, while the bases, the profile of which is remarkable and unique with a bell-shaped moulding under the trochilos, are of Parian marble (fig. 94). According to Pausanias (x. 2, 6) the colonnade was built out of the money which was the proceeds of the sale of booty taken by the Athenians from the Lacedaemonians and their allies in the Peloponnesian War, and included naval trophies and bronze shields from various towns. Pausanias is of opinion that this booty was dedicated specially as a memorial of Phormion's sea victory in the Corinthian Gulf, 429 B.C., which Thucydides so brilliantly describes (ii. 83), and which assured the superiority of the Attic fleet. The Stoa was excavated in 1880 by the French scholar Haussoullier,[1] and then was found the old dedicatory inscription which is visible on the top step: "The Athenians erected the Stoa, and weapons, and naval trophies, won from their enemies." It is therefore a naval victory in question, but the inscription has archaic lettering far older than the Peloponnesian War. Thus the dating of Pausanias cannot be

[1] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, v, 1881, 1–25.

correct. But what naval victory is meant? It was argued, from the expression "from their enemies," that it could not be the battle of Salamis, or the inscription would have run "from the Medes." Therefore other possible victories were thought of, such as that of Athens over Aegina soon after Marathon,[1] or the victory of 459 B.C. over Aegina and her allies[2]; nay, even an Athenian victory over Sparta in 506 B.C. has been proposed. Epigraphists, however, have pointed out[3] that the expression "from their enemies"

Fig. 94.—Part of the Stoa of the Athenians; behind the Pelargikó.

is very frequently applied to victories over the Persians, and that the lettering suits best the seventies of the fifth century. There is therefore no reason not to date the building after the glorious victory at Salamis in 480 B.C. It may have been filled later with trophies from fresh Attic naval battles, which gave occasion for new inscriptions and thus caused Pausanias' error. It is the oldest Athenian building in Ionic style. The use of Pentelic and Parian

[1] Herodotus, vi. 92. [2] Thucydides, i. 105.
[3] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 29.

marbles in the same building began in the sixth century.[1] We must not wonder at the poverty and want of plastic decoration in the building, but remember that it was erected at a time when Athens lay in ruins after the destruction wrought by Xerxes. As the Athenians made haste to re-erect the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in the Agora by 478 B.C., so they hurried to show their gratitude to the god of Delphi for their deliverance, so far as their circumstances permitted, gratitude which the Oracle had not deserved, but which bears witness to the touching and undiminished piety of the much-tried people.

The contemporary victories over great Persian fleets at Salamis and Artemisium caused the whole of Hellas to dedicate a colossal bronze statue of Zeus at Olympia, and an equally colossal bronze Apollo at Delphi, which stood close to the above-mentioned golden statue of a Macedonian king of the fifth century and held a prow-ornament (akroterion) in his hands. By the time of Pausanias it had certainly disappeared.[2]

In 479 B.C. the Persian army suffered its great defeat at Plataea, and Hellas expressed its gratitude for this victory by a fresh bronze Zeus at Olympia; a statue of Poseidon, also of bronze, at the Isthmus; and to Delphi they sent the famous tripod on a snake-pillar, which Herodotus carefully describes,[3] but of which the Phocians, when in the middle of the fourth century they seized Delphi, robbed and melted down "all that was of gold in the monument."[4] So Pausanias saw only the snake-pillar, which was of bronze, and later it was carried away by Constantine the Great to Constantinople and set up in the middle of the Hippodrome, where it still stands on the "horse-square" (Atmeidan), as the Turks, with typical conservatism, call it. Here for centuries students and tourists have been able to study the venerable monument, and the first scientific treatment of it dates from 1422. In the course of centuries the base of the column was partly buried by the surrounding soil, and so the English archaeologist Newton, in 1855, sought and

[1] Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, 13.
[2] Herodotus, viii. 121; Pausanias, x. 14, 5.
[3] Hdt., ix. 81. [4] Pausanias, x. 13, 9.

obtained permission to excavate the monument. It appeared that the column was set on a rough perforated base of stone, from which it seems that the Byzantines disrespectfully made it the centre-piece of a fountain. In 1856 the pillar itself was cleaned, and the old inscription of the fifth century came to light.[1]

In this inscription (fig. 95) are enumerated the names of thirty-one Greek cities as having taken part in the war, distributed over eleven coils of the snake-bodies. The number agrees exactly with that given by Plutarch[2] of "the cities which took part in this war," but not with the number of the cities which shared in the battle of Plataea, which, according to Herodotus, was twenty-seven.[3] But this inscription on the pillar is not the original one. To begin with, the Spartan king Pausanias, who led the Greek army at Plataea, had carved on a stone base under the pillar a boastful inscription, which the Spartans removed later, and then inscribed the names of the victorious cities on the pillar itself. This tradition in Thucydides (i. 132) is confirmed by the fact that the writing on the pillar shows Spartan lettering rather later than 479 B.C. The stone base in the fourth century received a new inscription in two poor lines of verse preserved by Diodorus (xi. 33).

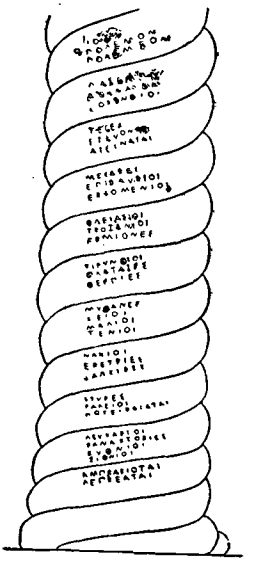


Fig. 95.—Inscriptions on the Delphian snake-pillar.

Now we understand the discrepancy from Herodotus. The pillar was dedicated as a thank-offering for Plataea; but when the inscription was altered, after the fall of Pausanias, it was converted into a monument of the defeat of the Persian Empire, and all who had contributed to that result desired to have their names included. This agrees with the statement of Herodotus (viii. 82) that the Tenians had their names inscribed on the tripod-pillar at Delphi, because in the battle of Salamis

[1] Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. 299 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, s.v. Dreifuss, 1688. [2] *Themistocles*, 20. [3] Herodotus, ix. 28–30, 77.

they went over with their ships from the Persians to the Athenians. Moreover, we find the name of the Aeginetans on the column, though, according to Herodotus, they failed and made off in the battle, and only after the victory had been won, raised a mound on the battle-field, notwithstanding that they had no casualties (ix. 85). A high place, first in the third coil, is assigned to the Tegeans, and rightly so, for they stood by the Spartans in the battle and distinguished themselves by storming the camp of the Persian general Mardonius.[1] What it meant to be named in this list, which reminds one of the enumeration of Greek towns in Aeschylus' description of the battle of Salamis,[2] may be seen from the fact that the ambassadors of Plataea. when in the Peloponnesian War their town had been taken by the Spartans, and the latter threatened to hand them over to their mortal foes the Thebans, to avert destruction from themselves, appealed to the fact that their name was on the snake-column at Delphi.[3]

Herodotus describes the monument as a three-headed snake. This is incorrect, for in reality there are three snakes, twisted round each other in twenty-five coils, and with their heads turned each in a different direction. The pillar was cast in one piece, but the surface is now covered by sabre-cuts from mischievous soldiers, and both the tails and heads of the snakes are wanting. A private letter shows that the three heads were still there in 1718, but soon afterwards they were broken off and disappeared, and only by a pure accident the upper part of one snake-head was recovered in 1848, and confirmed the tradition that the heads had open jaws. This fragment is now in the museum of Tchinili-Kiosk in Constantinople (fig. 96).

With respect to the appearance of the whole monument, there still prevails some uncertainty. Shall we imagine a small golden tripod, with a gold kettle resting with one leg on each snake-head,[4] or as most people think, following Furtwängler, suppose that a tripod six metres in height, crowned by a golden kettle, was put round the bronze snakes, so that they supported the bottom of the kettle?[5] Against the first

[1] Herodotus, ix. 28 and 70. [2] *Persae*, 882 ff. [3] Thucydides, iii. 57.
[4] Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi*, 55, fig. 64.
[5] Wolters-Springer, *Kunstgeschichte*, 231, fig. 433.

reconstruction is the consequent insignificance of the tripod and kettle. But it is probably correct. In the first place Herodotus expressly says (ix. 81) that the golden tripod stood on the bronze snake. Secondly, in the other reconstruction, the snake in the middle is so well hidden that we cannot understand how anybody could think of putting an inscription on it. But this uncertainty makes one prefer to omit a formal reconstruction.

With respect to the site on which the pillar stood, it has been rightly placed on the big quadrangular substructure, which is crowned by two round blocks of dark blue limestone, seen to the left of our illustration (fig. 97), opposite

Fig. 96.—Part of the head of a snake from the Delphian pillar.

the great altar, and just before the Sacred Way winds into the eastern area in front of the temple (plan, fig. 7). The top layer with the inscription was probably broken when Constantine carried away the bronze remains of the famous votive offering.

Opposite this foundation is seen in the picture, to right, the chief altar of Delphi, which is situated, as is usually the case with Greek altars of sacrifice, just in front of the temple entrance, so that the god, when the doors are opened, may smell "the flame saturated with blood" from the burning pieces of flesh, and the scent from the resinous wood. It is called by Pausanias "the great altar,"[1] by Herodotus, "the altar of the Chians,"[2] and he names

[1] Pausanias, x. 14, 7.

[2] Herodotus, ii. 135.

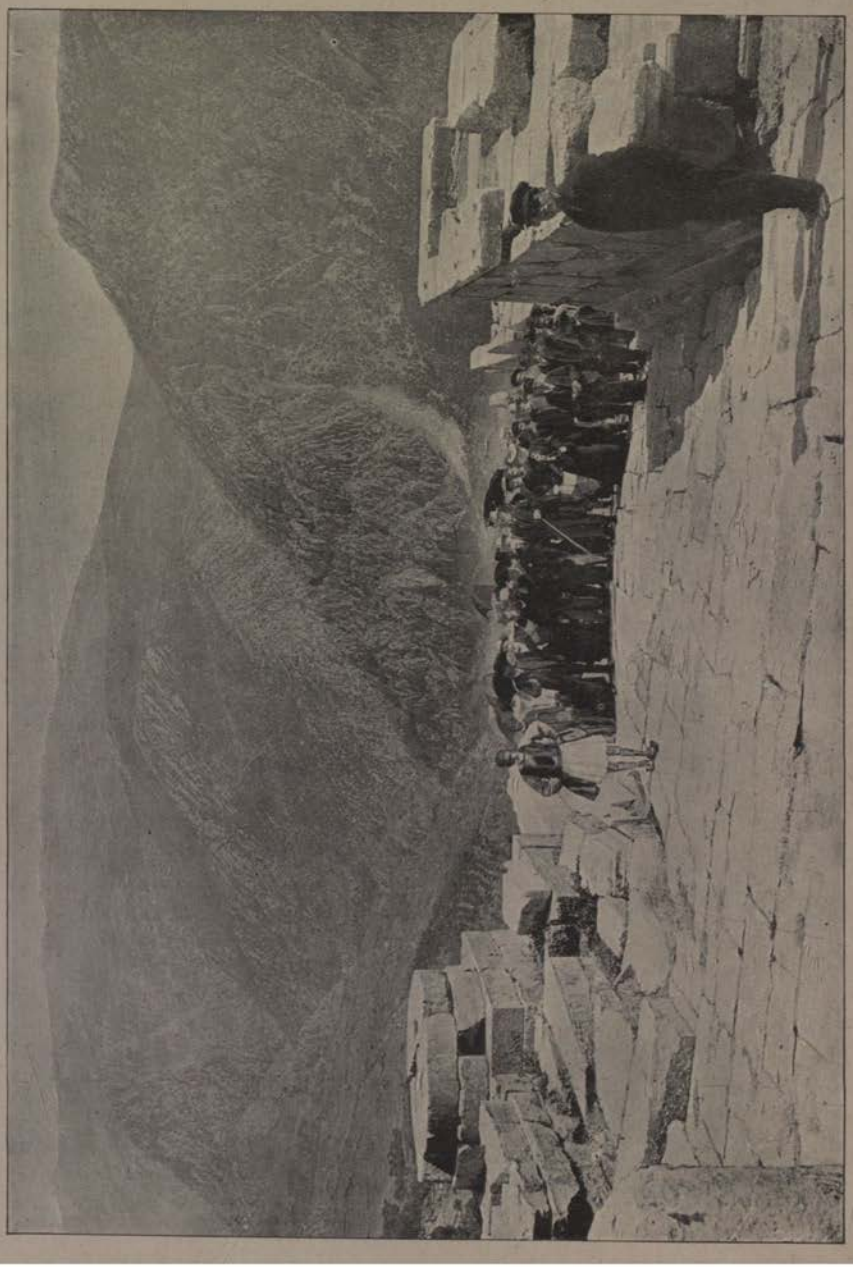


Fig. 97.—View of Delphi. To left the base of the snake-pillar, to right the altar of the Chians.

together with it the notable offering of a hetaira, Rhodopis' spits (cp. p. 72), which, according to Plutarch,[1] was close to the statue of the hetaira Phryne: now this stood precisely in the open space to the east of the temple. In the course of the French excavations the altar was found, 8·50 metres in length, 2·20 metres in breadth, built of limestone, and terminating the Pelargikó. On the upper broken stone layer of Parian marble was read the old votive inscription: "The Chians dedicated the altar to Apollo."[2] Thus the appellation of Herodotus is confirmed, and the Ionic characters point to the first half of the fifth century B.C. Moreover, there were found on the altar later inscriptions, all in honour of inhabitants of Chios. It may be most probably assumed that the altar was dedicated by the Chians after the sea fight of Mycale, 479 B.C., which freed their city from the Persian tyranny. Pomtow wants to refer it to an earlier date, 500-494 B.C., when the Chians, like other cities of Asia Minor, drove out the tyrants installed by the Persians.[3] The material, however, agrees with that of the Plataea base: both are of light limestone beneath, and have above respectively two or three courses of dark blue limestone, and on top a marble step (we may conjecture that also for the Plataea base); and this points to a contemporary date for the two, in which case the Chian altar is also a memorial of the victories over the Persians. Under this altar numerous early finds show the continuity of the cult from Mycenean times (above, p. 59); and the importance of the spot is shown by the ceremony of the liberation of slaves, under the form of dedication to Apollo,[4] which took place here in Hellenistic times.

Thus we find, as it were in the shadow of the temple, no fewer than five famous memorials of the greatest struggle which Hellas had to face, collected together, and a sixth was found close to the east main entrance of the Temenos, a group consisting of Miltiades, the victor of Marathon, surrounded by Apollo and Artemis, Theseus, and the heroes of the Attic tribes. Since Pheidias is named as the author of the work, it was evidently erected long after Marathon,

[1] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 14. [2] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xx, 1896, 617 f.
[3] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3rd ed., 20. [4] Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. 310; above, p. 51.

probably while Pericles was directing the government of Athens. Only parts of the base remain on the south side of the Sacred Way (plan, fig. 7, Marathon).[1]

All these monuments express the union which gave these small islands and mainland communities the victory over the arrogance and superior force of the barbarians. But there followed a time of division and fighting, which destroyed the feeling of unity which had been attained and many of the results of the victory. "We sing hymns for victories over the barbarians, laments for victories over Greeks," says Isocrates[2]; and it is anyhow true that victories over kindred peoples did not produce any vigorous hymns like those which were inspired by the common struggle against the Persian might. But in other ways the sentiment is too beautiful to be true, and the boastful monuments of victory about Delphi show too plainly that the Greeks did not weep when they won wars against neighbours and friends.

This is indeed a distressing "avenue of victory" (Siegesallee) at the beginning of the Sacred Way, the oldest remains of which are two Argive bases on the south side, originally adorned with bronze groups, "the Seven against Thebes," and "Amphiaraus driving out on his chariot." This was a memorial of a victory which, in common with the Athenians, the Argives won over the Spartans in 456 B.C.

When the Peloponnesian War breaks out in 431, Delphi is unconditionally on the side of Sparta, and gives the Spartan troops leave to instal themselves in the sanctuary.[3] During the first period of the war, the Spartan general Brasidas, and the inhabitants of the town of Acanthus on the east side of the Chalcidian Peninsula, who in common with the hero had fought against Athens, dedicated a treasury at Delphi, the site of which is not definitely fixed.[4] It was probably somewhat after the death of Brasidas, and the foundation of his cult as hero in 423 B.C.[5]; but the sting was aimed at Athens. After the peace of Nicias in 421 B.C., the terms of which were declared on a stele set up in

[1] Pausanias, x. 10, 1-2. [2] Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 158. [3] Thucydides, iii. 101.
[4] Idem, iv. 118, 128; Pomtow in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 79, whose opinion as to the site and age of the Treasury is mere conjecture. [5] Idem, v. 11.

the Delphic sanctuary, relations with Athens seem to have improved [1]; anyhow, Argos, the ally of Athens, had permission to set up a gigantic bronze horse close to the Athenian Marathon group, in memory of the heroic battle of Thyreai in 414 B.C., out of a part of the booty taken from the Spartans, which had a total value of twenty-five talents (£5,000).[2] But on the other hand, the sad defeat of Athens before Syracuse in 413 B.C. was immortalized, for the Syracusans, in grateful memory, set up their own treasury opposite to that of the Siphnians on the Sacred Way (see above, p. 74). Then, at the end of the war, followed the subjection of Athens to Sparta. A late writer, Aelian, declared that Delphi bade Sparta spare the conquered enemy, "the common hearth of Hellas"[3]; but we can scarcely believe that, when we see that the Spartans had permission to erect opposite to the Marathon monument of the Athenians a boastful memorial of the victory of Aegospotamoi in 405 B.C., which finished the war. Here was seen the victorious admiral, Lysander, with Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, the Dioscuri, and the goddess of victory, Nike, by his side, and surrounded by his captains, altogether thirty-seven bronze statues, which in course of time received such a patina of rust that "all the ship captains looked as if they had just come up out of the sea."[4] This last account shows how shamefully the Spartans had neglected to keep their monument in repair; for generally the Greeks hated rust on their monuments, and numerous inscriptions describe how the task of having the public monuments cleaned of it was entrusted to commissions.[5] It is typical of the neutrality of Delphi that an Argive artist, Antiphanes, who had executed the bronze horse for his countrymen in 414 B.C., is also named as collaborator in the monument for Aegospotamoi, though it was dedicated by the mortal foes of his native town.

But Sparta's victory over Athens, which was proclaimed by the conquerors as the introduction of a new period of freedom,[6] soon led to a tyranny which in the course of the

[1] Thucydides, v. 18.
[2] Idem, vi. 95; Brunn, *Geschichte der griech. Künstler*, i. 283.
[3] Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iv. 6.
[4] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 2.
[5] Cp. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 284.
[6] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 2, 23.

fourth century B.C. repeatedly gathered the other Greeks to resistance. In 370 B.C., Argos helped the Thebans, under Epaminondas, to liberate Messenia from the Spartan yoke, and to found a new Messenian State[1]; and in memory of this the State for the third time founded a monument of victory in Delphi, on the north of the Sacred Way, opposite the old semicircular monument of 456 B.C. Here, by the side of the Spartan "Siegesdenkmal," stood the old heroes of the Argive race in bronze in the semicircular niche, which still is to be seen, while the bronzes have long ago been melted down like the Athenian and Spartan groups. Still more defiant to Sparta is the monument which the newly founded Arcadian league,[2] which had helped Epaminondas to defeat the Spartans at Leuctra in 371 B.C., set up a few years later before the Lysander group, in that they even ventured to cut away part of the lower courses of the Spartan base to consolidate their own (see plan, fig. 7). Here, on an upper course of black marble, stood a series of bronze figures: Apollo, the nymph Callisto, Nike, and the heroes of the Arcadian race. This was in the bitter years when Sparta suffered such great defeats that even the nerves of these stout warriors gave way; Xenophon relates that the Spartans wept for joy when a victory was finally announced. But the prosperity of Argos and Arcadia did not last many years; when, after the fall of Epaminondas, the greatness of Thebes vanished, their allies could no longer independently hold their own.[3]

The last war memorials of this kind in the period of Greek freedom have already been described (p. 145); those of the Phocians, when in the middle of the fourth century they had conquered the Thebans in the second Sacred War.

Thus a long section of the history of Hellas, full of dramatic movement, speaks to us through these sad memorials of the family quarrels of the nation, which made the land defenceless against the outside world, and destroyed its political importance, at a time when its civilization was still in full growth. But the monuments are only the dead external tokens of victory. If one wishes to know how

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 5. [2] Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 24.
[3] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 1, 31-32 and 35.

men lived, suffered, and thought of war in these centuries of conflict from the end of the Persian Wars to the appearance on the scene of Philip of Macedon, one must go to the poets and prose writers of antiquity.

Aeschylus calls war "an enemy of choral dancing and harp-playing and a cause of tears"[1]; and he who had taken part in the Persian Wars, and knew what war was, describes in lifelike manner the hardships of war in the following lines[2]: "Why now (when war is over) speak of its irksomeness, of the bad night-quarters under open heaven, the narrow space and hard cabin on board ship, sighs and complaints all day long? But on land the discomforts were still more numerous. Our bivouac was under the walls of the enemy, and the moisture from the sky and the marshy damp from the earth caused us constant distress and multiplied the vermin in our clothes. What shall one say of the winter, which killed birds with its cold, and of all the innumerable torments the snow from Ida caused? Or of the summer heat, when the unruffled sea slept in the midday haze brooding in calm?" Then, as now, in wars, peoples were conquered, towns taken, and long was the conquered town recognizable by clouds of smoke over it. "For in the ruins lived evil vapour and ashes, which rested dead over the dead town, and sent out stifling scents from the burnt glories."[3] It is Troy of which Aeschylus is speaking, but it is his own experience which fills the old legend with real details.

Those who fell in battle were the best youth of the peoples. "For Ares is wont to slay the noble and brave." "But those who are only bold of tongue flee before disasters and keep out of sufferings. Ares plucks not his flowers among the cowardly."[4] Aristophanes says contemptuously[5]: "I saw grey-haired men in the ranks, but young lords, who with rich fare went as ambassadors to Thrace." This is repeated by the orator Andocides[6]: "The old must go out to war, the young are popular orators"; and all Isaeus' fifth speech is an attack on such an "embusqué."[7] Best known is the way in which the celebrated astronomer

[1] *Supplices*, 681.
[2] *Agamemnon*, 555 f.
[3] Ibid., 818.
[4] Aeschylus, fr. 490.
[5] *Acharnians*, 600.
[6] *De Alcibiade*, 22.
[7] See especially Isaeus, v. 46.

Meton escaped taking part in the Athenian expedition to Syracuse in the Peloponnesian War. When he could not get his name taken out of the list of those liable to serve in any other way, he feigned madness, and set fire to his house, which was near to the Poikile Stoa. He succeeded in deceiving the archons, and was exempted from military service, and was rightly called the most cunning deceiver of antiquity. Odysseus could not fool Palamedes when, to escape from going on the expedition to Troy, he feigned madness, but Meton humbugged a whole people.[1] An author of the fourth century, Aeneas, gives full information about the tricks employed in warfare, and the fully developed system of espionage. Of special interest is his description of the different ways in which letters can be smuggled into hostile lines. One can either cover the incriminating message on a writing-tablet with a new layer of wax, and provide it with a text giving no information, or use materials by which the characters become visible when put in water. One can use various kinds of cypher, of which a secret system with letters divided on a twenty-four-sided die is specially recommended, or miniature writing on lead-rolls which women can carry in their ear-rings.[2]

"Thus were fulfilled the plans of Zeus," says Euripides of the Trojan battles,[3] "that Mother Earth might be relieved of her superfluity of men." Then, as now, childless parents wept over "divinely sent loss of sons," or they mourned like the mothers in another tragedy of Euripides[4]: "Alas! how is it all wasted, the care I devoted to my children, the painful joy of childbirth and the motherly nursing, the long sleepless nights, when their dear little faces were pressed against my cheeks."

The driving force which kept up the madness was the hatred between peoples, which was vigorously fanned into flame. This bursts out in the *Andromache* of Euripides (445) in accents which remind one of the polemic of modern war. "Oh! you inhabitants of Sparta, you most hated of all living men! You deceitful councillors, you masters of lying, you weavers of disasters! You who never go the

[1] Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 12.
[2] Aeneas Tacticus, especially c. 31.
[3] *Helena*, 39.
[4] *Supplices*, 1135.

straight way, and never have good and sound thoughts, but always use crooked paths! A crime is your favourable position in Hellas! How do you abound in everything, in murder which nowhere is so frequent, in selfishness and avarice which is worst with you! Hypocrites are you, who can say one thing, and think something quite different! Death to you!" Nevertheless Euripides is one of the few who kept their heads, and calls it crazy to want to win fame or stop human suffering by the spear,[1] and in the following words he proclaims the truth to his age[2]: "Oh, you unblest mortals! why do you seize the spear and murder one another? Have done with it! Cast your cares aside, and live peaceably in your towns among peaceable folk! Life is too short for this! We must strive to live it through as easily as possible, and not ourselves fill it with troubles!" A very lively and full picture of the feeling of those times is given us by the comedian Aristophanes in the *Peace*, which was produced at Athens in the spring of 421 B.C., a few months before the so-called Peace of Nicias was concluded with Sparta, and throughout was a plea from the peace party in the city. The war had lasted ten years, and most people, both in Sparta and Athens, were longing for its conclusion.[3] But peace negotiations always came to grief in the following way: "When the Spartans have won a small advantage they say at once, 'By Zeus, now shall the Athenians get a lesson!' But if the dear Athenians got a little luck, and the Spartans came and begged for peace, you said: 'By Zeus, now we will not submit! Let them come again, when we have taken the town (Amphipolis).'"

The war contractors were another obstacle, makers of plumes and spear-shafts, smiths who made helmets and coats of mail, trumpet-makers and sword cutlers. To them Aristophanes wishes all that is evil; that they may be captured by pirates, and forced only to eat barley bread. In a comic scene, too indecent to be reproduced, it is described how plumes, corslets, and helmets can be used when peace comes and makes them useless. Such indeco-

[1] *Helena*, 1151. [2] *Supplices*, 949.
[3] Cp. for what follows *Peace*, 447, 1210, 695, 703, 571, 596, 991 and 439.

rous proposals with respect to modern weapons of war would certainly not have been made in any of the belligerent countries during the recent world-war.

That war then increased robbery and avarice can be shown by many examples. A typical representative of the smartness of the day is the orator Andocides. He was of high Attic nobility, his grandfather had been strategus with Pericles and Sophocles. When he was involved in the proceedings about the mutilation of the Hermae, immediately before the Sicilian expedition, he saved his skin by betraying his fellow-conspirators, and left Athens much compromised. Abroad he became an international man of business on a large scale; during the rule of the Four Hundred he supported the Attic fleet by contracting, and returned home, but when the fleet opposed the Four Hundred, had to retire again. After the end of the war he returned again in 402 B.C., and sought to bury his past in oblivion by generously supporting public objects. In 391 B.C. he had gone so far that he was appointed member of an embassy which was to negotiate peace with Sparta; but his equivocal attitude produced a new accusation against him, and for the last time he was driven into exile. His speeches show him a man of very average abilities, but he understood the highly valued art of becoming rich. The other contemporary orator of the second rank, Antiphon, was an expert man of business, and regarded it as a matter of course that his clients should be responsible to him for fees to the amount of 20 per cent. of the sums involved in the litigation. This gave rise to a prosecution and an apologia, fragments of which are preserved in an Egyptian papyrus.[1]

If we must believe Aristophanes, covetousness took hold of Athens' great poets. This is what he says of the venerable old Sophocles: "he will do anything for money!" "he would actually put out to sea on a straw mat for the sake of profit!" The only one who is consistent and dies in the spirit of old times is Cratinus, the author of a comedy with the significant name of "Wine-flask." He died of grief, says Aristophanes, at seeing the Spartans invade Attica and smash to bits a full wine-cask!

[1] J. Nicole, *L'Apologie d'Antiphon*, Genève, 1917, p. 25 f.

To create the desire of peace, Aristophanes speaks to the people's stomachs, and from the Acharnians onwards (v. 878) reminds them of all the fine dishes the Boeotians formerly brought to market, of which the Athenians have been deprived for six years. In the *Peace*, four years later, this is repeated with increased strength and effect. The poet reminds the audience of hours spent in the country under fig, olive, and myrtle trees, in a bed of violets by a spring, where they drank the unfermented newly pressed wine, and where the vines and young fig-trees and all the other plants, smiling, stretched out their fruits. "Free us then, Peace, from battle and evil deeds! Free us from our too subtle suspicions, which we hurl against each other! Mix us Greeks together as before, with the juice of friendship, and fill our minds with a milder forbearance, and fill our market with good and cheap wares, with onions and early figs, with apples and pomegranates, and small warm clothes for slaves! And let us see the country-folk come to the market with geese and ducks, with pigeons and sand-pipers!" But to the dream of peace of the common soldier the poet gives an expression which would suit the soldier of to-day: "Ah, by Zeus! to live one's life in peace, and sit by the hearth with one's lass and rake up the coals!"

XII

THE VOTIVE OFFERINGS OF THE SICILIAN PRINCES

SICILY, "the land of mules," the island where Hephaestus works in the depth of Aetna,[1] forms, along with South Italy, the western sphere, which the Greeks had occupied with their trade, predominance, and administration and called "Magna Graecia." A significant name in more than one sense! For both the State achievements and distances are greater, and the landscapes have a grander character than those of Greece itself. No Greek landscape can vie with that of Girgenti in magnificence. When you stand on the old acropolis of Acragas, you have before you first a big and wide valley, in which in old times "the fairest of the cities of mortal men"[2] extended with its houses, bridges, the famous fish-ponds, and the great burial-grounds, and next comes a new mountain ridge, with a row of splendid temples, which still seem to screen the town from the open country and the sea to the south. The temple ruins of the town correspond in size with the landscape, especially those of the temple of Zeus, which the tyrant Theron had built by Carthaginian prisoners after the victory of Himera, with which only Asia Minor, the other great Greece, has parallels. It was of Acragas that Empedocles said that its inhabitants lived as if they should die on the morrow, and built houses as if they should live for ever.

Of the same colossal dimensions, suggestive of the temples

[1] Euripides, *Troades*, 220. [2] Pindar, *Pythia*, xii. 1.

of Egypt, was the temple of Apollo at Selinus. A pile of ruins which takes away your breath! One walks along a footpath between fragrant tamarisks over gigantic pillars, upset in an earthquake, whose drums have a radius of two arm-lengths, over blocks with which giants would get the worst of it, and stops suddenly in the middle of a regular ridge, the remains of the one wall of the cella. In Selinus, too, the landscape moves the fancy, with the great city of the dead to the west, with the dwarf palms which in Theophrastus' time were typical of Sicily, and with a splendid acropolis as it were wading out into the African Sea, whose shore is bounded by the yellow sand of Sahara, blown over by the moist sirocco, and swept by the bloody rain (*imber sanguineus*), which made the ancients tremble every time it reached Central or Northern Italy.

But Syracuse bears the palm after all. Aetna is so near to the town that the mountain's dark blue sides and white top dominate the horizon in the north; but with the greatness of the volcano is combined a neighbourhood so gracious and smiling that it recalls the Nile valley and the north. Here south of the town flows Cyane, whose steely blue waters get their colour from the rich vegetation of the bed, and whose banks are hedged with papyrus and weeping willow. It receives into its bosom the Anapo, which Theocritus wrongly calls "the great river." And on the meadows by these small enchanting rivers still graze, as in the days of Theocritus, great herds, and one is reminded of the poet's lines: "Sweet is the heifer's voice, sweet its breath. Sweet it is to rest under the summer sky by the running water." From the valley of the Anapo the path leads up to a height, on which two heavy monolithic columns are the last memorials of a third Sicilian giant temple, the Olympieion. Under the height extends the sea, and if one sits by the foot of the old olive-tree up there, another passage of Theocritus comes into the memory: "Under this rock will I sing with thee, my beloved, in my arms, and the herds before me, sing my joy out over the Sicilian Sea."[1]

Northwards the view extends over a smiling virgin plough-land, where the ancient Syracuse lay (μεγαλοπόλεις Συρακοῦσαι);

[1] Theocritus, viii.

for it was not one town, but a complex of towns,[1] outwardly enclosed by the wall, 27 kilometres long, whose ruins, squares and cross-squares in two rows, like a supernatural structure of courses alternately upright and horizontal, and moreover, the deep pits, subterranean passages, magazines, and sally-ports make everything in Hellas itself, even the remains of the famous Cyclopian walls, appear as small as playthings.

To these could be added towns like Messana, Gela, Himera, ancient cities of the greatest renown and riches, a piece of the East in the West, created by Greek efficiency. While the Greeks of Greece and Ionia at the beginning of the fifth century, loosely united, were fighting for freedom and democracy, Magna Graecia had attained to strength and civilization by other means, through proud monarchs and strict military organization. The enemy here was Carthage, whose power was broken for the time in the battle of Himera, 480 B.C., but which only waited for a new opportunity, and actually destroyed Acragas, Selinus, and Himera at the close of the century.[2] To increase their power of resistance, great tracts of land joined with the great cities and suffered themselves to be ruled over by mighty families, which stretched holy alliances over the island by kinship and affinity. Most powerful of all were the sons of Deinomenes, who came from their father's native town, Syracuse. The eldest, Gelon, ruled in Gela from 491 to 485, later in Syracuse, from 485 to his death in 478 B.C. It was he who won the victory at Himera, and after it the rejoicing people of Syracuse hailed him with the title of king, and never lost its affection for him. Even a century and a half later Timoleon and the victorious democracy spared his statue in Syracuse, while those of the other tyrants were overthrown.[3] Of Gelon's greatness and pride[4] we learn from the fact that when, during Xerxes' threatening advance, ambassadors came to him from Greece praying for help, he would only render it if he became generalissimo of the whole Greek army. Gelon's victories

[1] Pindar, *Pythia*, iii; Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 18.
[2] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 1, 37, and 5, 21.
[3] Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 23.
[4] Herodotus, vii. 145 and 156.

were celebrated by the greatest poets of the time, Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides, and gave occasion for the sending of great temple presents to Olympia and Delphi, as was the case with the Persian victories of the mother-country.[1]

More famous still by the homage of poetry is the younger brother, Hieron, whom Pindar also often greets by the title of King.[2] He too began by ruling Gela, and when his brother died, in 478, took over the government of Syracuse. Hieron married a daughter of the tyrant Anaxilas, who was originally only lord of Rhegium in South Italy, later by the help of Samian refugees also at Zankle, which he renamed Messana (to-day Messina), and from which he dominated great expanses of territory on both sides of the strait.[3] Gelon had been married to the daughter of another tyrant, Theron of Acragas, and after his death the third brother, Polyzalos, married his widow, and in consequence of this soon afterwards quarrelled with Hieron, and found refuge with his father-in-law in Acragas.[4] In 475-4 the brothers were reconciled, and Polyzalos, who had earlier been leader of the Syracusan army, seems to have returned to Syracuse, but without regaining his former military position. Anyhow, he is not named in connexion with Hieron's sea victory over the Etruscan fleet at Kyme (Cumae) in 474 B.C. The father-in-law, Theron, died in 472, Hieron in 466, but Polyzalos remains in the background, and perhaps was already dead; for the youngest of the four brothers, Thrasybulus, became tyrant of Syracuse after Hieron.[5]

Unfortunately, Aristotle's treatises on the constitutions of Syracuse and Gela are lost, otherwise the picture of these rulers and their institutions might have been drawn more fully and clearly. We know best their relation to Greek poetry and art, their victories in the great Greek games, and the votive offerings they set up in gratitude for them.

A little north of the Chian altar and the tripod of Plataea (fig. 97), just where the Sacred Way bends into the east

[1] Scholia to Pindar, *Pythia*, i. 146.
[2] Wilamowitz, *Hieron und Pindaros*; *Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad.*, 1901, 3.
[3] Herodotus, vi. 23-4; Thucydides, vi. 4; Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, 29.
[4] Scholia to Pindar, *Olymp.*, ii. 29. [5] For the family affairs of the Syracusan princes see Scholia to Pindar, *Olymp.*, ii. 29, and *Pyth.*, i. 1.

front of the temple, are seen on a common substructure two black limestone bases, each consisting of a square and a circular almost bell-shaped upper part, on the upper surface of which are deep holes for fastening a tripod (fig. 98).

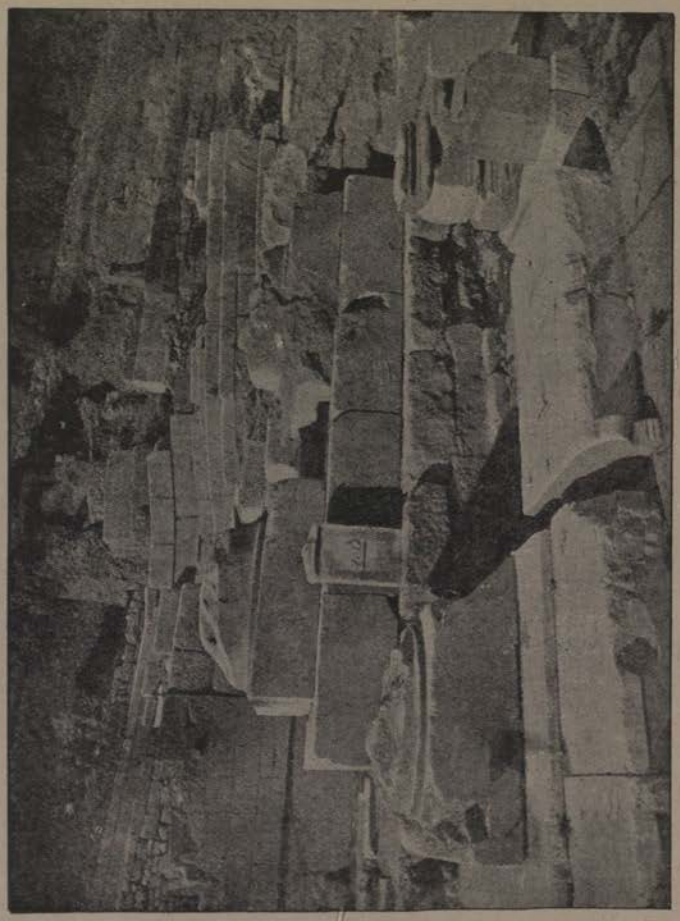


Fig. 98.—Bases of the tripods dedicated by the Sicilian princes.

Near by were found two smaller tripod bases of the same material and shape, but without inscriptions. The two large ones, however, are signed (fig. 99). On the base to the left we read : " Gelon, son of Deinomenes, of Syracuse, dedicated the memorial to Apollo. The tripod and the

statue of victory were erected by Bion, son of Diodorus of Miletus." The inscription of the other base has suffered more, and only the end of the father's name, and a figure in talents and minae, are certain.[1]

But we know the whole monument by ancient literature, and know that it was founded by Gelon for himself and his three brothers after the victory of Himera in 480 B.C.; and Diodorus (xi. 26, 7) states that Gelon's tripod cost sixteen talents (£3,200), while Athenaeus describes the

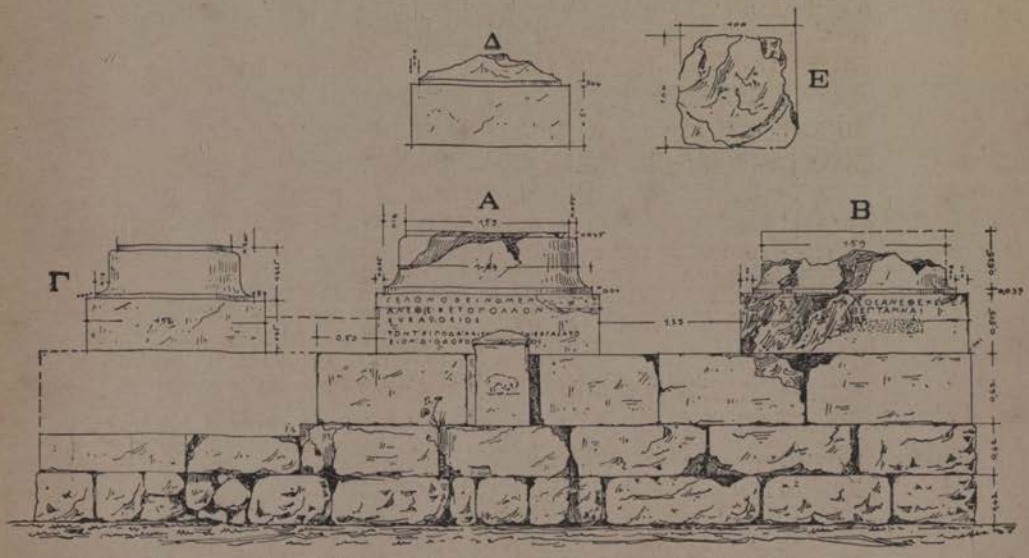


Fig. 99.—Inscribed bases of the votive offerings of the Sicilian princes.

golden Nike, which probably stood under its bottom as supporting figure (vi. 231c). The artist Bion, the eighth famous artist of this name, is known only by casual mention.[2] Characteristic for the mixture of dialect is the fact that, while the part of the inscription which concerns Gelon is in Syracusan writing, the artist's signature is in Delphian characters but Ionic dialect.

There have been doubt and dispute whether all four bases are contemporary and dedicated by Gelon himself, or those of Hieron and the younger brothers are independent. If

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 34-5; Keramopulos, *Athen. Mitteil.*, xxxiv, 1904, 44.
[2] Diog. Laert., iv. 58.

the figure on Hieron's base is correctly supplied as 50 talents 7 minae, it becomes a very different sum from that offered by Gelon, amounting to more than £10,000, and therefore it has been thought that Hieron, who in 482 B.C., on the occasion of a horse-race victory, had erected a statue of himself at Delphi,[1] only later, perhaps after the victory of Kyme in 474 B.C., had dedicated his own tripod and those of his brothers. But the bases of Gelon and Hieron are without break or piecing, with a common substructure: and Hieron's base is no larger than Gelon's, which does not point to a different size of the tripods. Moreover, the higher sum is not certain, and from a passage elsewhere,[2] which to be sure is equally uncertain, it seems to result that the sum for all four tripods was fifty talents. Moreover, the victory of Himera gave great booty of gold,[3] while probably the sea battle at Kyme gave nothing like it.[4] We therefore assume that the group is contemporary and dedicated by Gelon, which does not exclude the possibility that the lost common inscription written by Simonides was a later addition.[5] It is of these "high shining tripods which stand in front of the temple" that Bacchylides sings in his third *Ode*. Finally, during the Phocian occupation of Delphi, in the middle of the fourth century B.C., they were melted down. One can see how the tripod was the favourite votive offering at Delphi. It was, so to say, Delphi's coat of arms, used as a coin type, and carved on the rocks to mark the property of the sanctuary.[6]

The tripods of Gelon and his brothers were, like the tripod of Plataea, a monument of victory in war. But a victory in the Delphic games was commemorated in this century rather by a statue or a group of the victorious chariot and team. To such a group from the same Sicilian princely house belonged the most famous of all the figures found at Delphi, the bronze statue of a charioteer.[7]

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 35. [2] *Anth. Pal.*, vi. 214. [3] Diodorus, vi. 25, 1.
[4] Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, s.v. Delphoi, 2555; Homolle, *Mélanges Henri Weil*, 207 ff.
[5] Scholia to Pindar, *Pyth.*, i. 152. [6] Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Tripus.
[7] Homolle, *Monuments Piot*, 1897, 169 f. and plates xv, xvi; *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates xlix, l; L. Curtius in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, text to plates 601-4, p. 28, n. 36; Pomtow, *Sitzungsber. der bayr. Akad.*, 1907, 241 f.; Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes*, 224 f.

It was found north of the temple, where of old an east and west supporting wall, called ἰσχέγαον, "the earth-holder," prevented the earth and rocks of the slope from tumbling into the temple terrace. In this part of Delphi more than any other it is the case that masses of earth on the slope in an earthquake collapse, just as when one shakes a bag of potatoes, and easily begin to slide down. Such a landslip certainly contributed to the destruction of the temple in 373 B.C., and it was to insure against a new attack from this quarter that the "earth-holder" was built with the temple of the fourth century. In its interior the charioteer was found. The group had stood here north of the temple, and had gone to the bottom with much besides, and the charioteer and some scattered fragments were rolled to one side, covered with rubbish, and so saved from later persecutions. Neither in the construction of the "earth-holder" wall and the terrace over it, nor in later rebuildings, when a drain from the theatre above was carried through in the age of Domitian, was the statue brought to light. If the drain had been laid a few inches lower, the figure would have been discovered and carried away, and we should have been the poorer by an important work of art. There is thus no question of the figure having been deliberately put in as filling into the new terrace, as the Korai from the Acropolis were used for filling after the Persian ravages. Bronze was too valuable a material for that, while broken marble-sculptures had no value for the ancient Greeks.

The figure was found in two pieces. Its lower part was excavated on April 28, 1896. Digging went on during the following days with feverish excitement, but only unimportant fragments were found, till on the 1st of May the upper part and right arm appeared out of a layer of earth three metres higher, and ten metres north of the place where the other part was found. The upper part was penetrated with moisture from the sewer under which it lay; but drying for some days in the pure mountain air of Delphi and the strong spring sun restored to it the same green patina which the other part exhibited when found.

Over and above the statue, there was recovered from the

group, to which it had belonged, a piece of the stone base on which it had stood, parts of the chariot-pole, two hind-legs of horses, a horse's tail and hoof, remains of reins, and the arm of a child.

The base on which stood the chariot and horses is of limestone from the neighbouring quarry of St. Elias. So the group was only provided with a base at Delphi. Homolle assumes that the whole base consisted of three blocks 80 centimetres broad, and two of 60 centimetres, which gives a front breadth of 3·60 metres, rather less than that under the chariot which Gelon dedicated at Olympia, which was discovered in the German excavations.[1] On the one block preserved is found the end of the metrical inscription (fig. 100), and runs thus in translation: "Polyzalos dedicated me. Prosper him, O glorious Apollo!" But

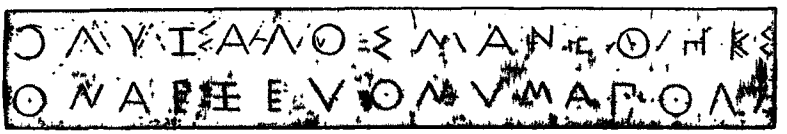


Fig. 100.—The inscribed base of Polyzalos' group.

Polyzalos, whom we already know as the third of the sons of Deinomenes the Syracusan, is not the original founder, for under his name are seen on the block traces of an erased inscription, in which von Duhn thought he could read the ending —ilas, and concluded that the group was originally dedicated by Anaxilas of Rhegium, father-in-law of Hieron (p. 217); but when he died in 476 B.C., leaving behind him two young sons, it was taken over and paid for by Polyzalos, a member of the related Syracusan family.[2] The erasure of the older name on an Anathema is not rare in Greek sanctuaries, and need not always be a hostile action, as was the case with the name of Pausanias on the tripod base from Plataea.[3] We know a parallel at Olympia in a statue base where the whole metrical dedication has had to be altered to have a new name inserted, and the old text can still be seen in spite of the erasure.[4] But von

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 33. [2] *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xxxi, 1906, 421 f.
[3] Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 13; Pausanias, v. 2, 3.
[4] *Olympia*, iii. 144; Loewy, *Griech. Bildhauerinschr.*, 23.

Duhn's reading has this weakness, that the name of Anaxilas will not fit the metre, and the Greek archaeologist Keramopulos has the merit of having found out the more correct reading "Gelas," the genitive of the name of the city Gela, and governed by a participle "ruling over." [1]

The group was thus originally dedicated by one of the rulers of Gela, and one thinks first and foremost of Gelon himself (p. 217) and of the eighties of the fifth century B.C. In 490 it was another who won the chariot-race at the Pythian games, but the year 486 may fit, as Keramopulos thinks. But he does not explain why the group was not finished, when Gelon lived and ruled till 478. Besides, after 485 Gelon no longer called himself ruler of Gela, but a Syracusan,[2] though a single dedication might point to the title from Gela having been now and then used after that date.[3] It is more important that the style of the statue is against so early a date as 485, and points to the seventies, and at this period the development of style is so rapid that this fact is important.

Another explanation has been attempted by Frickenhaus,[4] who thinks that Polyzalos is the original founder, but merely altered the title "ruler of Gela" for the later reading. Polyzalos may have won a Delphic victory in 478 or 474, while in 470 Hieron wins the chariot-race. In 474 Pindar himself was at Delphi, and soon afterwards, in the third Pythian *Ode*, he consoles his royal friend Hieron over a defeat in the Pythian games. Frickenhaus conjectures that this victory was specially felt because it was Polyzalos who was the winner. Certainly the brothers were reconciled after 475, but Polyzalos appeared no more in the political horizon of Syracuse, so the reconciliation did not mean much. Further, the German scholar conjectures that Polyzalos received Gela in 475 at the intercession of his father-in-law, Theron; therefore he called himself ruler of Gela in the first inscription, but later was compelled by Hieron to alter it. This is certainly an attractive and ingenious conjecture, but really a romance, for more than half the proofs are invented.

[1] *Ath. Mitteil.*, xxxiv, 1909, 33 f. [2] Herodotus, vii. 156; Thucydides, vi. 5 4.
[3] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 429; Pausanias, vi. 9, 4.
[4] *Archäologisches Jahrbuch*, xxviii, 1913, 52 f.

Finally Pomtow regards the development as follows[1]: After his chariot victory in 470, Hieron vows the group, but is an invalid in the last two years of his life and has to commit the regency to Polyzalos, who dies shortly before him, in 468. During these two years the group is founded and taken over by Polyzalos. This is the most fatuous of all the views. Even if Hieron is in delicate health, he is not insolvent, and absolutely nothing is known of Polyzalos' regency. Finally, Hieron does not call himself ruler of Gela in 470-68.

We forget that the inscription is incomplete. In two previous lines Gelon may have been named as the original victor and donor of the votive offering, and then Polyzalos follows as the one who succeeded in getting the group erected. The same contrast is found in a base inscription given by Pausanias, of a group at Olympia founded by Hieron, and erected by his son Deinomenes.[2] It is in memory of a victory of Hieron, but not sent by Hieron himself, but dedicated by the son in memory of his father. Polyzalos, who, as was stated, married Gelon's widow, may similarly have dispatched and set up the votive group promised by Gelon, but incomplete, and perhaps not even begun, when he died, in 478. The erasure, which took place at Delphi when the group was set up, may simply be due to discontent with the first form of the lines, in which Gelon, ruler of Gela, was named last, and got the whole blessing from Apollo, which was superfluous for a dead man, while the living Polyzalos might desire to get it, and so by his representative may have demanded the alteration of the line.

But this is all dead theory, and we turn to the work of art, the living reminder of the generosity to the god of the Syracusan royal house. We must conceive the whole group as consisting of quadriga, and on the car the victorious Gelon and the charioteer, as we have him; by the outer horses of the team two small grooms holding the bridle, if they were not represented as riding each on a horse, as in the Hieron group at Olympia.[3] A third possibility is

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 35, D.

[2] Pausanias, viii. 42, 8-9 (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 422), and vi. 12, 1; the contrast is between ἐχαρίσσατο and ἀνέθηκε.

[3] Idem, vi. 12, 1; cp. for the first proposal Pausanias, v. 27, 1-2.

Fig. 101.—The Charioteer.

Fig. 102.—The Charioteer.

proposed by Keramopulos, a youthful Nike, to which the child's arm belonged, standing on the car and crowning the victor.[1]

The group stood on a terrace high over the temple, visible from far. Groups set up like this justify Diodorus' expression of Delphi as the bronze-crowned sanctuary.[2] As the base-blocks were not found *in situ*, it has been questioned whether the group stood full-face, and therefore much foreshortened from below, or in profile. The latter view is correct; it is shown by the want of symmetry on the face of the charioteer, which simply requires to be set up in three-quarter profile with the right side to the spectators.[3] On the right hand of the charioteer was the lord of the chariot, who thus stood further forward. The relation of the two figures to each other was approximately the same as that of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in the contemporary Athenian group. We get no information from Pausanias' description of Delphi, for by his time, the second century A.D., the figure was already well hidden in the earth of Ischegaon (p. 221). This at once refutes Svoronos' attempt to identify the group with that described by Pausanias of the hero Battus of Cyrene with Libya, a hypothesis which found too much approval when it came out.[4]

The statue of the charioteer (figs. 101, 102) is 1·80 metres in height, and, as the very small bronze nails under one foot show, was not fastened in stone but in bronze, and so in the floor of the car. That the description "the charioteer" is correct is shown, not only by a little inscription incised in a fold of the coat and meant for a guide in the setting up of the figure, but also by the dress, which is typical for charioteers in vase-paintings and terra-cottas down from the geometric period (eighth century B.C.), but had not hitherto been represented in sculpture. The Delphic statue gives us information about details of the dress, how the seams run in skirt and sleeves, and how the upper part of the coat is fastened not only by the belt, but also by braces, which pass over the shoulders and under

[1] *Ath. Mitteil.*, xxxiv, 1909, 51. [2] Diodorus, xi. 14, 2.
[3] Della Seta, *Atti della Accademia dei Lincei*, xii, 1906, 206; Mackenzie, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xv, 1908-9, 301 and 305.
[4] *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1905, 1549; cp. Keramopulos, op. cit., 59, n. 1, and Frickenhaus, op. cit., 52, n. 2.

Fig. 103.—Head of the Charioteer.

the armpits and meet and cross on the back. These bands keep the garment together, and keep the material from being blown about when the chariot is travelling rapidly. There is the same object in the fillet, which, tied behind, falls in two ribbon-ends down to the neck (fig. 103). In the case of drivers with long hair, it would prevent the locks from being whirled into the eyes in the middle of the race.

Thus there is actuality in all the treatment. But details are stylized for the sake of monumental effect. The long lower body under the belt has quiet, deep but not quite regular folds, which give the figure something of the slimness and grace of an Ionic column. Over the breast the waving folds run obliquely, more sharp and wild, in a lively "glissando," which forms the transition from the fine "largo" of the lower body to the quick "pizzicato" of the sleeves.

While the lord of the car was probably represented nude, the dress of the charioteer allows one to see little of his body, but the little is good. The right arm has a strong biceps, a noticeable rendering of the skin-folds in the hand, which closes on the reins, and a swelling vein on the inside of the elbow-joint. Especially life-like and elegant are the feet, with veins under the skin, with delicately shaped insteps and ankles, everywhere a wonderful mixture of discreet naturalism and sure stylization.

It has been thought that the slender build of arms and feet showed the charioteer to be of a vulgar type, one who had not shared in the muscular training of the well-born. This impression is false, and founded only on the modern conception of charioteers as humble personages. Pindar's poetry tells a different tale. The poet praises the efficiency of the charioteer in a manner which proclaims his importance, and in one place we hear of his birth. Carrhotus, "who conquered in the Pythian games without breaking any part of his strong chariot, and dedicated the well-wrought works of skilled masters, which he brought with him, when he came to Crisa's height, to the valley of the god Apollo," was brother to the Queen of Cyrene.[1] Nicomachus, too,

[1] Pindar, *Pythia*, v. 34.

the charioteer of Theron and Xenocrates, who is highly praised by Pindar,[1] was a nobleman, and received Proxenia (hospitality from the state) from the inhabitants of Elis. So nothing prevented a charioteer from being of noble, nay princely, stock. A great responsibility rested on the charioteers, for they conducted the teams over sea from Sicily, and had to look after the horses between the numerous games, which compelled them to stay for years in Hellas and go from one festival to another.[2]

The figure stood quietly on the car, with feet set close together and arms raised. Even if one supplies a whip and not reins in the lost hand, it is not a scene from the actual race. For during it the driver would take the whip in his right and hold the reins tight in his left hand. So it is either the moment at which the car has stopped, or the proud drive round after the victory at walking pace, that is represented in the group.

The rim of the body of the car rose high and covered the lower part of the body and the feet, which, in spite of their concealed position, are executed in a careful and masterly manner. Thus the chief emphasis fell on the folds and lines of the upper part of the body, and the small size of the head in comparison was not specially noticeable because so much of the long body was covered. Thus the bust of the figure has a peculiar interest (fig. 104). The neck is powerful, but not, as in archaic sculpture, too heavy for the head. Here we have the seriousness of the severe style, the reaction against the beaming smile of archaic art, which begins in Peloponnesian art during the Persian Wars,[3] and was retained and left its impress on all subsequent Hellenic art, as a reminder of the deadly peril which had threatened them from the East. It held its ground until it passed into the gentle dreamy calm of the art of Pheidias.

The narrow cheeks and the strong chin are also features of this period. The nose is short in comparison with the chin, and at the same time narrow with a sharp ridge. The lips, sharply outlined, as is necessary in bronze, are slightly parted, and reveal the row of teeth, which are

[1] Pindar, *Isthmia*, ii. 23. [2] Wilamowitz, *Hieron und Pindaros*, 23.
[3] Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, Kore. 686.

rendered by a narrow leaf of silver. Special care is devoted to the eyes. They are almond-shaped, with strong lids, and their filling is well preserved and of great technical interest. Between eyelashes which consist of specially inserted bronze plates, executed with fine threads or teeth,

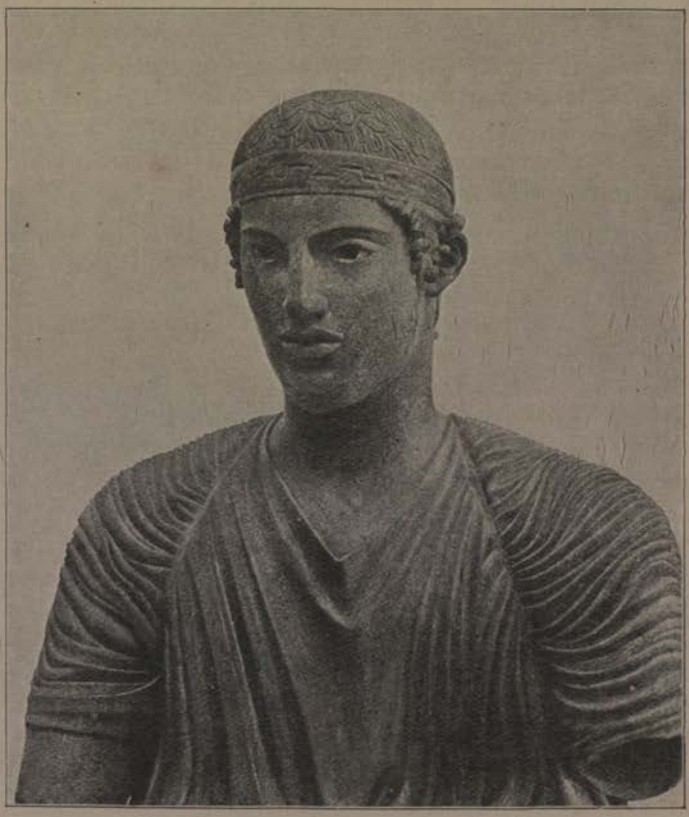


Fig. 104.—Head and bust of the Charioteer.

the retina is inlaid with a white enamel-like mass, and the pupils consist of two concentric onyx-rings of different colour. The effect of the eyes is wonderfully living, without there being any attempt to make them life-like in a naturalistic way.

Noticeable is, as already mentioned, the want of symmetry

in the face, which is not an attempt at realistic portraiture, but founded on the desire of marking the side turned away from the spectator, in spite of the profile attitude.[1] Thus in the head of the charioteer the right eye is too long, and the left side of the face too much raised, for the three-quarter profile (to the right of the spectator) to be effective.

The crown (fig. 103) is in the form of a high dome, the hair smooth with weak outline, so that the round of the head is clear and nowhere broken. Under the hair-ribbon in front of the ears is a little tuft of long curls which gives breadth to the face. They play about the delicate ear, and are continued in the curling side-whiskers, the sign of beginning manhood. He is thus quite young. The contrast between the elastic mass of hair and the confining hair-band begins twenty years later in the head of the Lemnian Athena.

From the front view (fig. 102) the figure turns its head slightly to the right, and the right arm is directed in the contrary way with a well-designed, discreet counter-effect. This quiet crossing gives a eurhythmia, the effect of which would be increased if the lower part of the right arm had been put on correctly; it ought to be raised a few millimetres, in agreement with the course of the biceps. This position of the arms is also crossed by a slight turn of the hips in the opposite direction. But these subtleties counted for little in the original setting, for the lord of the chariot certainly stood in front by the right arm of the driver, so that he covered the greater part of his form and movements.

The stylistic determination of the charioteer becomes difficult to this extent, that many special points have to be taken into consideration. Both the position on the chariot and the long dress make him a conventional figure, and deprive us of two important criteria, the characteristic form of the body in rest, and the treatment of the nude. It is no normal work of art, in which a master of that period could bring out his individuality, or as it were declare his programme. The artist can only reveal his special conception by glimpses. Where this happens, in the attitude of

[1] For asymmetria in Greek art see Graef, *Strena Helbigiana*, 103.

the head and the modelling of arms and feet, we find a ripe master of the art, who cares more for ingenious stylization and effective rhythm, aims rather at fine decorative lines than at bringing new domains under cultivation or losing himself in the variety of life. He is not an eager observer of nature, not a zealous inventor like Myron, but a quiet, controlled master of form.

The connexion with the royal house of Syracuse is no help to the discovery of the master. For a similar group at Olympia Hieron employed the Athenian Calamis and the Aeginetan Onatas,[1] and in other groups dedicated by the Syracusans, the two Aeginetans, Onatas and Glaucias, collaborate.[2] Thus we have seen Gelon, in the golden Nike of the tripod-group at Delphi, employ the Milesian Bion; and what would prevent the Syracusans from placing orders with Pythagoras of Rhegium, who at the same period executed the quadriga of Cratisthenes at Olympia,[3] or with the Peloponnesian leader of the art, Ageladas, or even with less famous contemporaries, such as Amphion of Cnossus, Dionysius of Argos, or Simon of Aegina?

Homolle and Pottier proposed to call the work Attic, and compared it with Attic red-figured vase-paintings. But the resemblance is quite superficial, and with the chief contemporary work of Attic art, the group of the Tyrannicides, dedicated in 478 B.C., there is not more agreement than with other contemporary works, and there are essential points of difference. Thus the head of Harmodius has a much lower crown, close curls, more fleshy cheeks, and wider open eyes.[4] Nor is there any more resemblance to the sculptures of Aegina. If one takes the head of Athena from the west pediment, it is feature by feature different; the shapes are throughout more dry and scant than in the head of the charioteer.[5] The comparison with Ageladas and the Peloponnesian school gives as negative a result. The charioteer has neither the upright straight cheeks nor the drawn-down corners of the mouth which usually characterize the works of this school; and if we judge the very uncertain Ageladas by the statues generally ascribed

[1] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 524 f. [2] Op. cit., 422, 429. [3] Pausanias, vi. 18, 1.
[4] Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, plates 84-5.
[5] *Archäol. Jahrbuch*, xxii, 1907, Beiblatt, 137.

to him, the Stephanos athlete of the Villa Albani and the Apollo of Mantua,[1] no one will be able to assert that they are like the charioteer.

With more reason Pythagoras of Rhegium has been suggested. His oldest dated work—for Astylus of Croton—falls between 480 and 476 B.C., and he was still at work in 452 B.C.[2] On a base at Olympia his signature is found as Pythagoras of Samos, and later authors of antiquity believed that there were two artists of this name, one from Samos and another from Rhegium.[3] But at the beginning of the nineteenth century Ulrichs rightly maintained that it was the same person, who changed his description after having, like the philosopher of the same name, migrated from Samos to South Italy, where he probably joined the tyrant Anaxilas of Rhegium (cp. p. 222). The works of Pythagoras which are described were all of bronze, and with a single exception —Europa and the Bull—male figures. Most of them were victors in races or sports, in one case a victorious Citharode, probably represented in the usual long garment, like the dress of the charioteer. The eight statues, of which the provenance is known, are chiefly orders from Magna Graecia and Sicily. But he also worked for Arcadia, Thebes, and Cyrene, but not, so far as is known, for Ionia and Athens. Pliny mentions, as characteristic of the art of Pythagoras, the fact that he was the first to work out carefully the sinews, veins, and hair.[4] Pliny's source is Antigonus of Carystus, who lived in the third century and was using a treatise by the sculptor Xenocrates, a pupil of Lysippus. From the same source, probably, comes also the other piece of information about Pythagoras' special artistic features, which is found in Diogenes Laertius; he was the first who strived to attain rhythm and symmetry.[5]

From these expressions it is evident that in Lysippus' school Pythagoras was recognized as a forerunner of Lysippus, just as later Jacopo della Quercia is regarded as the artistic precursor of Michelangelo. For the careful, one might

[1] Pfuhl in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Hageladas; Wolters-Springer, *Kunstgeschichte*, i. 230.
[2] H. Lechat, *Pythagoras de Rhégion. Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, 1905.
[3] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 499 and 507. [4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 58.
[5] Diog. Laert., viii. 46 (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 507).

say scientific, treatment of sinews, veins, and hair, and the introduction of new rhythms in art, were what his pupils admired in the master Lysippus.

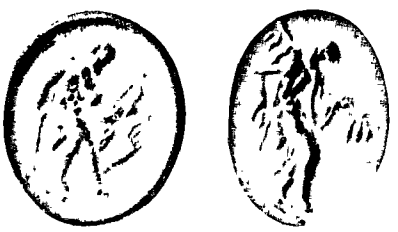
The representation of veins begins in Greek art in the sixth century. One of the earliest known examples is the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. Of a contemporary painter, Cimon of Cleonae, Pliny says, " he brought out the veins " [1]; and from the beginning of the fifth century one can name both the metopes of the Athenian Treasury and the pediment sculptures of Aegina as witness that the careful execution of both sinews and veins was universally known in the art of the eighties.[2] Sculpture and painting were in this matter in advance of science, for the study of the course and working of the veins begins only in the middle of the fifth century.[3] In the writings that proceed from the circle of Hippocrates, especially in his son-in-law Polybus' work on the nature of man,[4] the idea still prevails that the circulation of the blood starts with the head and divides, as it were, into four chief currents. Other thinkers of the fifth century regarded the navel as the starting-point of the circulation of the blood; only in the great philosophers of the fourth century do we find the thought of the heart as the source of the circulation of the blood, in the fine poetical similes about the vein-plexus of the blood in Plato's *Timaeus*,[5] and in Aristotle's more sober scientific observations.[6]

Thus the representation of veins in the arm and feet of the charioteer is nothing novel, and does not justify us in proposing Pythagoras as the sculptor. It is equally insecure to build on a statement about Pythagoras' careful treatment of the hair, in contrast with Myron's rough treatment. That this view is unjustifiable seems to be shown by the good copies of Myron's Discobolus, which disclose a matchlessly careful rendering of the locks.[7]

Moreover, we do not even know what is meant by Pythagoras' thoroughgoing symmetry. Is symmetry meant for a mathematical formula, as in the art of Polyclitus, or is it

[1] Pliny, xxxv. 56. [2] Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, 173, plate 86.
[3] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2nd ed., 350.
[4] περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου, 11, περὶ τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, 3. [5] *Timaeus*, 65c-85c.
[6] *Historia animalium*, iii. 2-3 (511*b*-513*a*). [7] Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, 348.

a naturalistic principle in the sense of Lysippus, alterable according to the movement, the luckily discovered formula of momentary action? We understand rhythm rather better as the collective effect of lines based on details of form, equally conditioned by the gesture of the arms, the position of the legs, the bending and movement of the head. But all this does not help us to have a definite idea of Pythagoras' speciality as an artist. On ancient gems we certainly have copies of his most characteristic figure, the statue at Syracuse of the wounded, limping Philoctetes (figs. 105, 106). Here we feel a rhythm, produced and stamped by pain, while the tortured and bowed figure moves along, but neither this picture nor the coin-types of his "Apollo slaying the Python"[1] give us any material for a comparison with the Delphic charioteer.[2]



Figs. 105 and 106.—Gems with the limping Philoctetes in Berlin and Paris.

There is a work of peculiar importance found at Delphi which, according to the opinion of most experts, gives us the best representation of the art of Pythagoras. It is a very fragmentary sepulchral relief of an athlete (fig. 107), whose forms are of gigantic size.[3] A young man, seen in front view, is stretching out his arms, and cleaning himself with the strigil, which he holds in his right hand, and by his side stands a little slave-boy, with left hand on his right shoulder, gazing up at his master, and probably holding the oil-flask in his right hand. Between them is the head of a dog.

The relief shows a grand conception and a boldly executed posture, with chest and shoulders turned away from the frontal attitude of the legs and abdomen. While the pubes has hard and still archaic lines, the softness of the abdomen and the veins on the right hand of the athlete are of masterly execution. There is a characterization, which is full of life, in the biceps, ribs, and saw-muscles, without anatomical

[1] Wolters-Springer, *Kunstgeschichte*, i, 249, fig. 462.

[2] The group of torsos which L. Curtius (text to Brunn-Bruckmann, plate 601, p. 19) attributes to Pythagoras may as well be due to an unknown Ionic or Attic master.

[3] Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, plate 265.

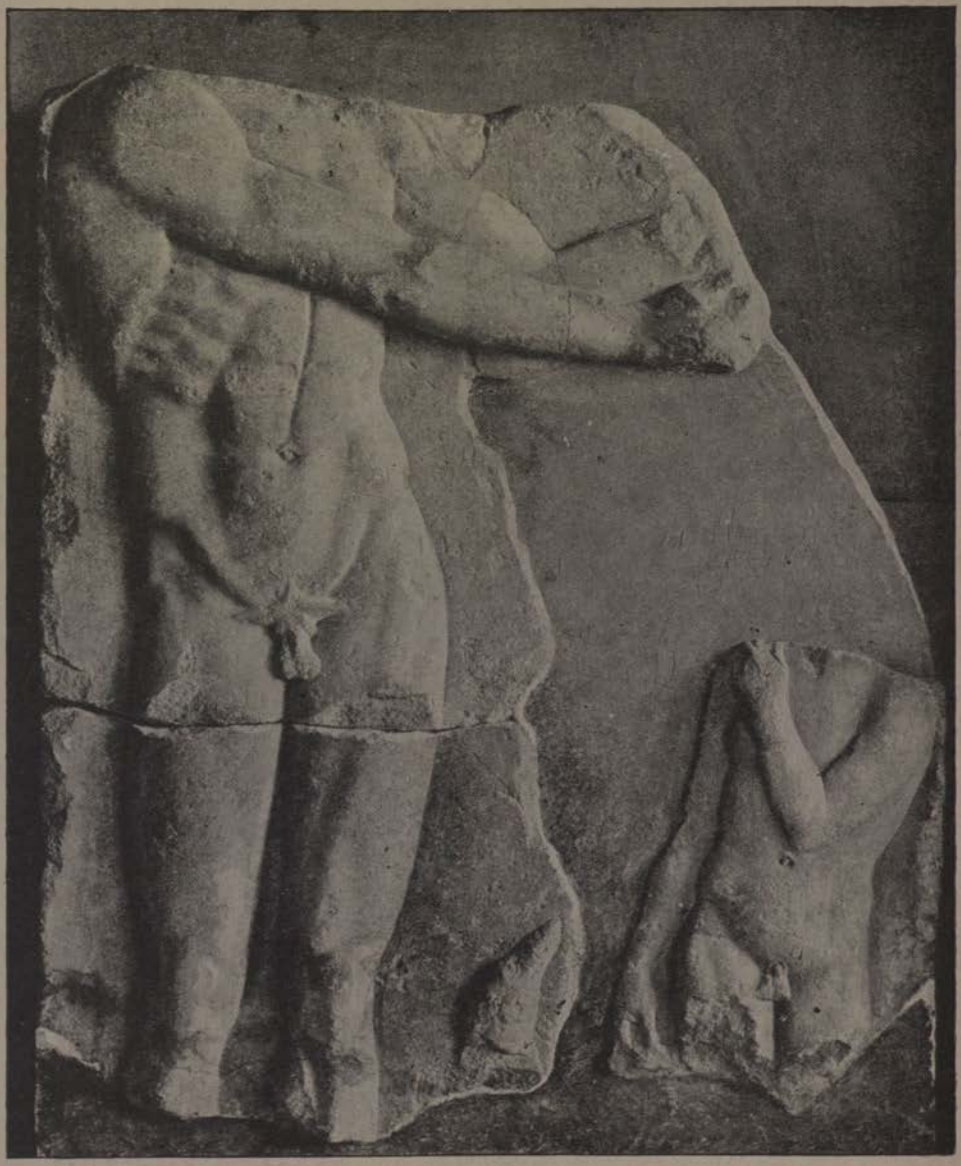
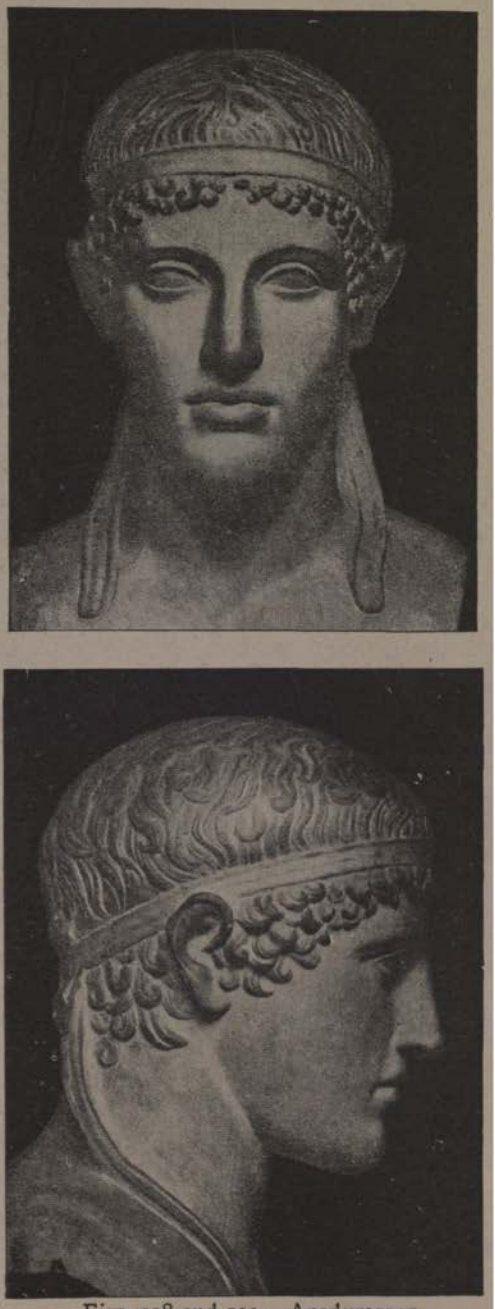


Fig. 107.—Fragment of sepulchral relief from Delphi.

correctness, but with a fine feeling for the formal effect. It is fresh Ionic naturalism. The date and style are of

460-450 B.C., and the attribution to the school of Pythagoras is not without probability. But is this style of work, this complete freedom from stylization, the transitional method applied by the master of the charioteer?

Thus we cannot connect any artist's name with the charioteer with any probability; yet there are works in the rich world of ancient sculpture which show near kinship. This applies first and foremost to the head of a young athlete in the British Museum, which goes under the name of the Anadumenos Capranesi (figs. 108, 109). In spite of the modernization of the features, which may be put down to the Roman copyist, there are striking likenesses to the head of the charioteer (cp. again fig. 103); the same lofty, dome-like shape of the head, the same setting of the locks, the same termination of the hair in stylized small curls, the same big narrow cheeks, and the same



Figs. 108 and 109.—Anadumenos Capranesi (British Museum).

somewhat drowsy expression. Certainly the copyist diminished the prominence of the eyelids and the heavy chin of the original. But there is surprising similarity in the profile of the under-jaw in the direction of the ear, and the same is the case with the finely-curled neck hair.[1] A replica of this head is known to exist in Schloss Erbach, near Frankfurt-am-Main,[2] and that it was a famous artist who was at work is proved by the head of a river-god on the coins of Gela at the end of the fifth century, which reproduce a work of the second quarter of the century remarkably like the charioteer and Capranesi heads (fig. 110).[3] Now, the charioteer group was actually ordered by Gelon as ruler of Gela. It looks as if the artist, at present unknown to us, worked in Sicily for the Syracusan royal house, and perhaps one day an accident will recover his name for us.

Fig. 110.—Coin of Gela.

For once we have here a masterpiece without the master's name. Unfortunately the case is generally the reverse with ancient art; plenty of great names, but not a single work to form a picture of the master's achievement! Or else insignificant copies which give no more than the covering and outline, but nothing of the soul of the master, nor work from his own hand! There is therefore no reason to lament that Providence has given us a work instead of a name, when it is a work like this, which in its artistic distinction explains to us the meaning of the dictum of Plato in the *Philebus*, that the good proceeds from a mixture of beauty, proportion, and truth.

[1] Studniczka, *Archäologisches Jahrbuch*, xxii, 1907, 137.
[2] Antes, *Festschrift für Overbeck*, 79, and plate iv; S. Reinach, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1898, ii. 424 f.
[3] Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, plate 16, n. 24.

XIII

THE LESCHE OF THE CNIDIANS

THIS chapter will treat of a vanished building and destroyed works of art, not in a naïve belief that we, or anyone else, can succeed in reconstructing the lost, but only to remind ourselves of what is for ever gone, and as it were in a gentle dream to perceive something of its greatness and rhythm.

It is, as usual, the old guide of the second century A.D., Pausanias, who is our chief witness (x. 25-31). "Over the spring Cassotis there is a building with paintings by Polygnotus, founded by the Cnidians. It is called Lesche by the Delphians, because in old times they met there and talked about important things and about myths. When one enters this building, the whole right-hand side is taken up by a painting representing the capture of Troy and the departure of the Greeks." Then follows an explicit description of the two famous Polygnotan paintings, "Iliupersis" (Destruction of Ilion) and "Nekyia" (Underworld), which by the time of Pausanias were already more than 500 years old, and enjoyed a fame in antiquity such as that of the ceiling paintings of the Sistine Chapel or Raphael's Stanze in our own day. The "Fall of Troy" was especially admired, and even two centuries after Pausanias the pictures were still preserved and were praised by the Sophist Themistius.[1]

As Pausanias' text also shows, the Lesche was a club-house where people met and talked, and many such were to be found in the Greek cities, but none was so famous as that of Delphi, where Polygnotus had painted. At Athens there are ruins of a Lesche below the west slope of the Acropolis, which show that it consisted of a rectangular

[1] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1051-3

hall and an antechamber.[1] Of the Delphian Lesche only part of the foundation walls and an inscribed block remain.[2]

The building is in the north-east corner of the Temenos, flush with the highest diazoma of the theatre, on a terrace,

Fig. 111.—The terraces beneath the Cnidian Lesche (above under the rock wall).

which towards the south is carried by a finely built supporting wall. Its highest layer was overthrown, and on one of its blocks ran the inscription : " The people of the Cnidians dedicated the terrace to Apollo." The characters point

[1] Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 260.
[2] Homolle, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xx, 1896, 633-9 ; *Fouilles de Delphes*, i, plates v-vi; Bourguet, *Ruines de Delphes*, 274.

to the fourth century, and the allusion is to a restoration of the old terrace, which Pomtow proposes to fix at 332 B.C., when, after the victory of Alexander the Great at Issos the year before, Cnidos was liberated from Persian rule.[1] Other blocks from the terrace carry inscriptions in honour of Cnidian citizens.

Thus the identification of the building is beyond question. The ruin itself is scanty; to the north stand a few upright blocks; otherwise nothing but foundations is left, and even these on the west and south are partly washed away. The foundation walls are of poros limestone, 85 to 95 centimetres thick, and it is plain that the building was a simple rectangular hall, 18·70 by 9·53 metres, and that on the north side it is supported by a polygonal supporting wall, which both gives security against land-slips, and also forms a narrow passage behind the north wall, a Peristasis the ancients called it, to prevent the moisture from the cliff striking through the walling and injuring the frescoes. A similar Peristasis occurs in a Stoa at Pergamon and in the libraries at Pergamon and Ephesus, where it was a question of preserving from damp the book-rolls in their pigeon-holes.[2]

The terrace is 3·28 metres broader than the building, so that on the south side there was formed a little platform, to which a staircase led from the south and a narrow path from the theatre to the west. From this the building was entered, certainly by a single door. There is no trace of a colonnade south of the Lesche.

Inside the building on the east side were found four cubical blocks of marble, provided on top with depressions in which to fasten wood pillars. If we assume four corresponding pillars in the destroyed west half, there were eight wood pillars in the interior to support the roof (fig. 112). This remarkable archaic construction reminds us of the halls of the Mycenean chieftains, and is quite unique in Greek architecture.[3] Probably there was an opening in the ceiling, so that the paintings were lighted both from the roof and the door.

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 290.
[2] *Altertümer von Pergamon*, ii. 70; *Oesterreichische Jahreshefte*, viii, Beiblatt, 63 f., fig. 16.
[3] Leroux, *L'édifice hypostyle*, 245.

What the centre of the room was generally used for we learn from a narrative in Plutarch.[1] A circle of the author's friends is sitting and gossiping in the Lesche and looking on at the exercises of the athletes. The centre of the floor was obviously covered with "white earth," and here the young free-men amused themselves with wrestling, improvised or competitive. As Plutarch only sees his friends after having entered the building, there can be no question of laying the scene of the contests in a Stoa in front of it. In a few words we are given an attractive peep at Greek daily life. Here the old sat on benches against the walls under the great frescoes, and discussed problems of life and the myths of the past, while studious youths listened and expressed their approval or dissatisfaction. If they failed to agree, the controversy could be quickly settled by a peaceful boxing match or a quick wrestling bout on the fresh sand between the pillars. Now it was the old who sat as spectators and encouraged with acclamation, or were silent and with a smile remembered the far-off vigour of their own youth.

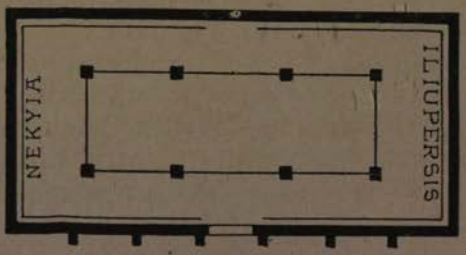


Fig. 112.—Plan of the Cnidian Lesche.

We picture the paintings divided so that the "Iliupersis" was to right and the "Nekyia" to left, both paintings, as we commonly see in Etruscan graves, beginning immediately after the door, and meeting in the centre of the north wall. The picture of the fall of Troy was signed with an epigram by the poet Simonides: "Polygnotus of Thasos, son of Aglaophon, painted the destruction of the citadel of Ilion." As Simonides died in 468 B.C., the pictures were probably painted in the seventies of the fifth century by the Ionian Polygnotus, the foremost artist of the day.

As early as 1757 Pausanias' full description had tempted the French archaeologist, Count Caylus, to an attempt at reconstruction, and many since have followed in his

[1] Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 6.

steps, last, and with greatest learning, Carl Robert, just before the French excavations.[1] There is a great *naïveté* in these attempts, which are objectionable even as exercises for students, in that they create in the minds of pupils the false belief that, with small vase-paintings and literary descriptions to help one, lost master works can be re-created. It is a fundamental reversal of the essence of art, a negation of the initiative and originality of the individual artist, which should be rejected with horror and contempt, but unfortunately continues to flourish.

Of the "Iliupersis," in which Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, is the chief personage, the description is fullest. His grave was shown at Delphi below the Lesche, and this perhaps contributed to give him the central place in the composition. As Pausanias expressly says, Neoptolemus is the only Greek who is still fighting. He is simultaneously laying low two Trojans. On the other hand, we are spared the scene in the vase-paintings in which he slays the defenceless little Trojan prince Astyanax. Certainly there is close to him a little boy, clinging in terror to an altar, and as no name is given, the spectator might think of Astyanax, until farther on he discovered a child in the arms of Andromache, where Astyanax has his natural place.

Wherever Neoptolemus goes, he spreads terror and death. Corpses rise up round him, and the names inscribed tell of the bloody harvest among Troy's best heroes, who lie flung away in artistic poses on the steadily rising ground. Corresponding with the frightened boy by the altar, a Trojan princess sits on the ground, clinging to a stone basin, on which rests a bronze bowl. After her comes an old woman, with a little naked child in her bosom: in terror the child covers his eyes with his hand.

After this the terror dies away on both sides and becomes silent grief and mourning among the Trojan captive women, and deep depression in a group of disarmed wounded Trojans. A company of women from the Greek camp, with Briseis in their centre, have admiringly surrounded the ever-bewitching Helen, who has taken her seat on a

[1] *Die Nekyia des Polygnot* and *Die Iliupersis des Polygnot*, Hallische Winckelmannsprogramme, 1892-3.

rock with a handmaid standing by, and another kneeling to put on her sandal. She has already adapted herself to the new conditions, and is preparing to go away with her former husband, Menelaus; but the Greek women cannot weary of looking at her, whose beauty was the cause of the whole war.

The Greek heroes have finished fighting, and are standing fully armed to watch the work of destruction. The walls of Troy are being pulled down under the direction of Epeius, the engineer, whose work, the great wooden horse, that brought about the actual conquest, is seen raising its head beyond the city wall.

Even the stout Aias is at rest; he is not, as in the vase-paintings, tearing Cassandra from the altar to violate her, but, standing in front of the altar, he is trying by the formula of an oath to purify himself from the consequences of the crime he intends to perpetrate on Cassandra, who in terror has clung to the statue of Athena. It is the quiet before the storm, a *motif* that reminds us of the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. At the extremity of both sides the picture ends with the preparations for departure. To the right the ships are being made ready, clothes and bronze vessels with water are being carried on board, the tents of Menelaus and Amphialus are being broken down.

To the left is seen the house of Antenor, the only Trojan spared by the Greeks, and round it the family assembled for its melancholy departure. A donkey is being loaded with a chest and other luggage. Thus the terror of the central scene round the murderous Neoptolemus passes through shades of sorrow, curiosity, and brooding evil intentions, through the joy and sorrow of departure into quiet performance of ordinary small duties. It is the same diminuendo we find in the east pediment of the Parthenon, where the birth of Athena causes unrest and terror in the central figures, while the angles have quietly resting dreamers turned towards the everlasting round, sunrise and the descent of Night into the waves.

Raphael produced similar effects in the Mass of Bolsena, where the miracle causes great emotion in the central figures;

but the movement gradually ebbs away, and the corner below to the left is filled with young mothers, who are idly caressing their sweet children. But of all this gamut of feeling not a trace can be seen in the reconstruction drawn by Carl Robert, and by that alone it may be judged and condemned, as Caylus' drawings were condemned in his day by Diderot. There is only one kind of reconstruction which is permissible, the poetical, which does not claim to know about lines and details, but only seeks to comprehend the main point, the great rhythm, the echo of which is rather guessed than heard in the old descriptions.

XIV

THE COLUMN OF THE DANCING WOMEN

AMONG the tripod bases of the Syracusan princes were found some fragments of a votive column decorated with acanthus, and a pillar with the figures in relief of three dancing women, which decorated its top. In the Museum of Delphi one can see the column drums, which are in some cases badly damaged, and a reconstruction in plaster, 7·80 metres in height, and formed of four column drums. Later investigations have proved that the column, which, like the female figures, is of Parian marble, consisted of a base, five drums of equal height, and a capital, over which hovered the " danseuses," and was 8·65 metres in height. It stood on the north side of the Sacred Way, in front of the Syracusan votive group already described; and the bronze tripod which stood upon it, and left its traces upon the acanthus-leaves of the capital, was thus visible far over the Temenos.

Homolle and Replat in collaboration have the honour of reconstructing the whole monument (fig. 113). Over two square plinths and a round base of a fancy kind, the foot of the column is wreathed by four big acanthus-leaves, which seem to spring out of the earth, and turn the points of their leaves to the ground. This growth from the ground not merely gives the slender column static strength and stability below, but is also true to nature, for exactly in this way, with its leaf-tips heavily drooping, the living acanthus plant springs out of the earth (fig. 114). Beyond these root-leaves comes a ring of six leaves, alternately

acanthus with strong ribs, deep furrows, and jagged edges, and flatter leaves with few and weak ribs and slightly tongued edges, which closely and indivisibly united enclose the column as if it were a stalk. Evidently the palmette, the lifeless *motif* borrowed from the East, is at the bottom of this leaf-form, but it is, as it were, fructified by the acanthus plant and roused to life and growth. Homolle brings into comparison the leaves of umbelliferous plants. The Danish botanist, L. Kolderup Rosenvinge, whom I have consulted, is more inclined to compare the Mandragora, which is known from Egyptian representations, and enjoyed great fame as a medicinal herb in antiquity,[1] but admits that the leaves of the mandragora are not so markedly folded, and that the question is difficult to solve.

Over the ring of leaves at the foot the proud stalk of the column rises upwards, shooting out at every joint a new fringe of acanthus and mandragora which alternate over one another with careful rhythm, so that the spectator now sees the acanthus-leaf in full breadth, now two acanthus-leaves in profile with a mandragora-leaf peeping forth

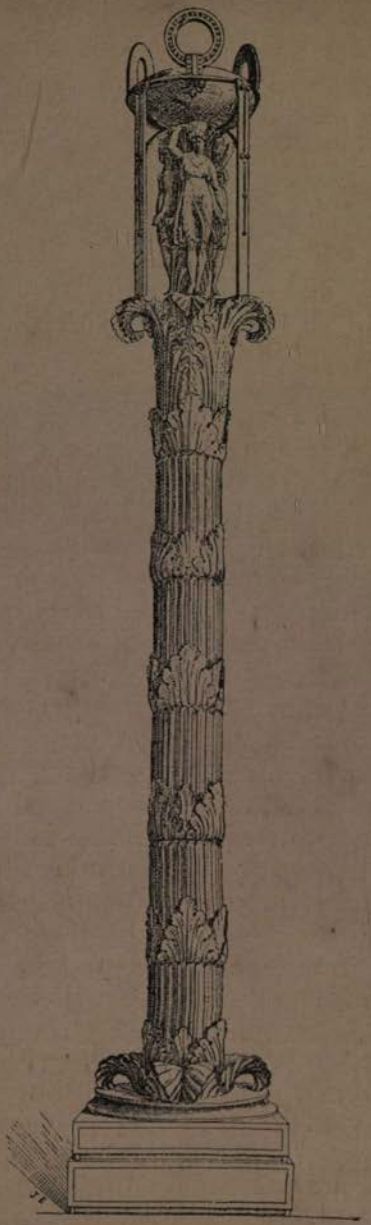


Fig. 113.—Reconstruction of the column of the dancing women.

[1] Reichenbach, *Icones fl. Germaniae*, xx, plate 1828; Fiorie Pabletti, *Flora Ital. illustrata*, ii, fig. 2881; Frits Heide, *Tidsskrift for historisk Botanik*, i, 1918, 9 f.

in the interval between them. Even the flutings of the drums, with their round, slightly bent out points, suggest vegetation and stand close together like narrow rushes. They, too, join in the natural growth and movement, which make this wonderful column seem to live.

While the rings of leaves fit closely on the stalk, the acanthus of the capital severs itself from the stem and has free play outwards like that of the root. Here on the outermost acanthus-leaves rested the legs of the tripod, while the women trod the dance on the inner circle of " man-

Fig. 114.—Acanthus plant.

dragora." The female figures are in high relief, joined to a central pillar which supported the bottom of the tripod, and is decorated with heavy lobated acanthus-leaves. With its original painting the leafage of the pillar served as a dark trembling background for the dance of the light creatures. The women, whose bending heads follow the rhythm of the dance, wear high crowns with sharp-ribbed rushes, the effect of which is a more slender and pointed repetition of the flutes of the column.[1]

[1] Homolle, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxi, 1897, 603 f. and xxxii, 1908, 205 f.; *Fouilles de Delphes*, i, plate xv, and iv, plates lx-lxii; Homolle, *Revue archéol.*, 1917, v. 1-71, from which fig. 113 is taken.

One can apply to this column a passage of Theocritus (i. 55) in which he describes a bowl: "Round about it twines the nimble acanthus, a glittering sight to see, a wonder which can enchant your soul." For this column is a wonder of those times, when the eyes of the Greeks were opened to the splendour of the acanthus, and no tradition reined in the fancy. To-day we have got a somewhat better idea than was the case previously as to how the conception of the decorative value of the acanthus was formed, because the designs of white Attic lekythoi reveal the course of the development step by step.

Fig. 115.—From an Attic lekythos.

To begin with, the acanthus was the plant preferred for ornamenting Attic burial-places. It was planted at the foot of the stele or sepulchral column, and freshly plucked leaves are tied in the form of big bouquets round the middle of the column (fig. 115). Even the colour employed in the drawing proves that it is the living plant, not a decorative ornament carved in stone. In another vase-painting, instead of the usual palmette top, three rows of living lobate acanthus-leaves are employed to crown the column (fig. 116). Since there is not room enough on the top of these small columns for earth in which the plant can grow, there can only be a question of leaves pulled off and tied like a bouquet to the stele. This is confirmed by a series of cases where the ribbons are seen which fastened the acanthus-leaves (fig. 117). By leaving the old stone crown of spirals and palmettes, one got a good kernel on which to tie the acanthus bouquet. Where the grave is adorned by a broader stele, leaves are fastened to its wall, as the Egyptians tied their lotus-bouquets to walls. From the vase-paintings of the fifth century one can see that the decorative conclusion of this was drawn; as the lotus friezes of the Egyptians develop out of bouquets on the walls, the acanthus-leaf is carved in stone, and combined with the old

spiral and palmette motives, while the stone spirals at the sides, as it were, screw them tight. In these later pictures both form and colour proclaim that the material is stone, and thus a new style has come into being (fig. 118).[1]

There is thus a kernel of historic fact in Vitruvius' well-known story of the origin of the Corinthian capital[2]: that a Corinthian woman had brought a basket of gifts to the grave of a young girl, and covered the basket with a stone; an acanthus plant shot up round the basket with stalks

Fig. 116.

Fig. 117.

From Attic lekythoi (Homolle, *Revue arch.*, 1916, ii).

Fig. 118.

and leaves, and its upper row came into collision with the basket, and bent outwards with volutes at the four corners. The Athenian sculptor Callimachus came past, saw the peculiar ornamentation of this grave, and after it created the Corinthian capital.

This pretty little story correctly combines the first observations of the decorative charm of the acanthus with graves. The designs on Attic unguent-pots point to the fact that the value of the acanthus was first perceived in Athens; and so it is the second true point in Vitruvius' story, that he makes an Athenian artist who lived in the last decades of the fifth century the inventor of the new form of capital.

[1] Homolle, *Revue archéol.*, 1916, ii. 26 f.

[2] Vitruvius, iv. 1, 19.

The oldest known Corinthian capital was found in the temple of Phigalia in Arcadia, which was built in the thirties of the fifth century by an Athenian, the actual architect of the Parthenon, Ictinus. From the living hedge of graves, where the acanthus was cultivated with flowers and other ornamental plants, Attic artists got their impression and impulse, and so we see simultaneously the acanthus-leaves appear in the acroteria of stelai, and in the ornamentation of painted vases. The earlier palmette-crowned capital of the anta was the point of departure for the actual Corinthian capital, as the fundamental form shows; this takes up the leafage and stalks of the new plant alongside of palmettes and spirals, and the next process was to remove the leaf-carved capital from the anta and transfer it to the shaft of the Ionic column.[1]

But what was the share of Corinth in the birth of the new style? The expression "Corinthian style" occurs in an author of the fourth century B.C., and becomes universal in the Hellenistic period. Now, as Corinth was specially famous for its bronze works, both works of art and bronze furniture, so that the words "Corinthian" and "aheneus" (of bronze) were often synonymous in Roman times, it is natural to assume, even if it cannot strictly be proved, that acanthus decoration was early and generally employed in Corinthian bronzes. The sharp-edged acanthus-leaf excellently suited metal works, and both in Hellenistic and Roman times Corinthian capitals in bronze were an ornament specially employed in magnificent buildings. Perhaps if some of the fine Corinthian bronze-work had survived destruction, we should have found the nearest prototype of the Delphian column in a Corinthian votive column of bronze, or in one of the gigantic torch-holders which in front of great temples held pitch torches, the light of which, in solemn night festivals, guided processions through the darkness. As it is, we must be content with the numerous resemblances to the decoration of Attic grave stelai which we dealt with above. Even the leafage at the foot of the Delphic column pointing earthwards, and calling to mind the living plants round a grave, shows exact agreement, and the same is

[1] Noack, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, 49 f., plate 65 f.

the case with the leafy garlands, which form girdles from drum to drum and are like the bouquets of acanthus on the centre of gravestones. It is an attractive idea to make out that the acanthus column, like the acanthus capital, rose out of emulation between two artistic cities, Athens and Corinth, so that in this respect, too, the legend of Vitruvius contains a kernel of truth. But this insight into the outside influences does not hinder us from admiring the ingenious wilfulness with which the artist of the Delphic column used and transformed the formal elements at his disposal.

Fig. 119.—Votive column on a Greek vase (*Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1916, 219, fig. 9).

While columns with acanthus capitals were rarities in the fifth century, according to the testimony of painted vases they became very popular at the beginning of the fourth century; and especially on vases of the so-called Kertsch group we see goddesses frequently leaning on columns either of pure Corinthian style or shaped like Ionic columns, with acanthus-leaves peeping out at the foot, or bound in garlands round the drums in the way we already know. The greatest similarity in construction to the Delphic column is shown by two votive columns on a vase of the fourth century found in South Russia, where there are leaf garlands for each drum, and a tripod resting on the bent-out acanthus-leaves of the capital (fig. 119). Only the crown of leaves at the foot and the dancing girls between the legs of the tripod are wanting to make the agreement complete. However, this form is rare and short-lived. In later ancient architecture, only one parallel can be adduced, the pillars which decorate the choir-doors in the Church of St. Praxed at Rome (fig. 120).[1] As they have been taken from a more ancient unknown building, their exact date cannot be given.

[1] *Bull de corr. hell.*, 1908, 216, fig. 6.

The end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century is therefore the probable date of the Delphic acanthus column, but the three female figures on it permit of a more precise dating (fig. 121). From the first there was an inclination to call them the "dancing Laconian women," who are given as one of the principal works of Callimachus, and thus to refer the composition to the fifth century and the actual inventor of the Corinthian capital. The group of Callimachus was in bronze, but the Delphic column might be a contemporary marble copy. It is said of the work of Callimachus that it was irreproachable from the technical standpoint, but that the over-careful execution had deprived it of all freshness and grace.[1] That is quite unsuitable to the Delphic dancers, who like the column itself are loosely and hastily executed, and yet have a charm of their own in the facile, elegant workmanship. The careful and self-critical artist would certainly not suit this work, but it might, after all, be an unwarranted imitation or a variation.

Fig. 120.—Column from St. Praxed, in Rome.

But all these hypotheses disappear on a stylistic examination of the figures themselves. They are executed as figures in high relief, over life-size, combined with the leafage of the central support. They had no contact with the capital beneath, but, in their original lofty position, it looked from below as if they were hovering with light feet over the leaves of mandragora. With the left hand they clutch a fold of the thin chiton, while the right arm was raised, and the head supported the lofty reed-crown. Again we must regret the fracture of the marble and the loss of the colours. The round and supple gesture of the light arms on the ground of dark leaves is now quite lost; only the slope of the shoulders and the rise and fall of the breasts remain as reflexes of movement. The thin chitons, with short buttoned sleeves, and the narrow, tight, high-set belts, only go a little beyond the knee, and flutter aside in the wind or with the

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 92.

Fig. 121.—Dancing women from the Delphian column.

Fig. 122.—Dancing women (*Revue arch.*, 1907, plate iv).

motion, or cling to the limbs, so that every form is visible, from the firm breasts over the youthful tender curve of the abdomen to the fine strong thighs. The folds are shallow, like a slight channelling over their bodies, and their course seems rather determined by the wind, which blows straight against each figure, and so not, as in nature, from one direction, than by the direction of their motions, except the somewhat heavier middle fold in its delicate curve, and especially the folds over the left thigh, the stretching of which is produced by the hand seizing the garment. Apparently there is complete irregularity in the formation and winding of the folds, but observation shows that the lines and forms are all one in the three figures. By fine and noble symmetry regard is paid both to the architectonic purpose of the figures and to the common rhythm; they dance alone without joining hands, but the movement and the cast of the folds unite them in a unity, a spiritual symphony of quiet, ingratiating harmony. There is a kind of echo of the best features of archaism; the silent grace of the composition, especially in the way in which the slim legs are advanced in a quiet dance-movement, while the garments flutter symmetrically, as if the blast from three sides entered into the folds (fig. 122). In this mastery of movement, in this harmony of lines there is something genuinely Attic. Attic, moreover, are the youth, sweetness, fullness of the group, young women who dance, with tall bodies, delicate cheeks, and bowed heads in the fragrance and luxuriance of fresh plants.

So far as the dress goes, they might well be the famous "Lacaenae," for in such chitons reaching to the knee Peloponnesian runners appear even in the first half of the fifth century,[1] and we may conceive of cult dances at Sparta and Olympia performed in such garments. The transparent drapery is treated as in Attic works under Ionic influence, e.g. the frieze of the Erechtheum and the reliefs of the Nike Balustrade; and we might well conceive of Callimachus as the vehicle of this tradition. Moreover, at the first glance the only well-preserved head seems as if it might well be dated at the end of the fifth

[1] Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, plate 142, p. 304.

century by the sharp-edged eyelids, the big cheek surfaces, the expressive profile of the mouth and the heavy chin (fig. 121). But all this is due only to distant effect, and the detailed forms, which are important, tell a different tale.

Homolle has the credit of the correct combination and dating.[1] The head (figs. 123, 124), as the treatment of the hair alone is sufficient to prove, has affinity not with fifth but with fourth century sculpture, through the short and

Figs. 123 and 124.—Head of a female figure from the Acanthus column.

delicate lines in which the locks separate, when contrasted with the grand rhythm of the lines of locks in the fifth century. The method, too, in which the hair triangularly encloses the slightly arched forehead is typical of the fourth century, even if the development begins at the end of the fifth. The feature in question is most like that of the Praxitelean Aphrodite, and this agreement becomes even more evident when we compare the structure of the eye and lower part of the face (figs. 125, 126). In both heads the eye lies in deep

[1] *Revue archéol.*, 1917, v. 39 f.

shadow, deepest at the root of the nose, where the caruncles are quite lost in darkness, and from which the lines of the eyelids run out with a strong curve, not, as in the fifth century, parallel with the eyebrows. Even the long hollow under the lower eyelid is common to both, which, bounding the arched cheek, gave the expression of the Praxitelean female

Fig. 125.—Head of dancing woman from Delphi.

figure the ὑγρότης, of which the texts speak. The little mouth, too, with its graceful dimples, the delicate little ear with its long lobe, which seems attached to the cheek, are like those of Praxiteles. In the ear-lobe the Delphian figure wears a little twisted ear-ring. If one glances again at the Delphian head in front view (fig. 124), its whole character will immediately strike the observer as Praxitelean.

We may thus discard the attribution of the work to Callimachus, or other combinations with Greek artists of the fifth century, e.g. Paeonius, the creator of the famous Nike of Olympia. Thus, too, we exclude the hypothesis of the Greek archaeologist Keramopulos that the column is the Silphion column founded by the Ampeliotes of Cyrene in the fifth century.[1] The idea was anyhow im-

Fig. 126.—Head of the Cnidian Aphrodite.

possible, because the Silphion pillar in question was named in the work of Anaxandridas as having been among the works of art plundered by the Phocians, from which it follows that it was of costly material, gold, silver, or in any case bronze.[2]

Equally improbable are the dating in Hellenistic times, and the comparison with the Themis of Rhamnus,[3] which

[1] *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, 1907, 295.
[2] Scholia on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 925.
[3] Collignon, *Sculpture grecque*, ii. 461, fig. 241.

Fig. 127.—The Hecate group of Alcamenes (*Oesterr. Jahresh.*, xiii, 1910, plate iii).

is treated in a dry and classic way, and it is surprising to find this view adopted by one of the finest connoisseurs of ancient art.[1]

We must look for parallels in the Attic school and the Praxitelean circle. The composition "figures under tripods" is frequently mentioned in the fifth century, and three women with their backs against a central pillar formed the kernel of the famous Hecate group by Alcamenes, Pheidias' pupil, of which there is a marble copy, 46 centimetres in height, at Vienna (fig. 127).[2] Three stiff archaic Hecate figures, leaning against a column and flanked by burning torches, form the actual image of the divinity, in whose honour three young girls, probably Charites, danced with linked hands. They dance lightly swaying, and the steps, the movement of the upper part of the body, and the course of the folds of drapery, are more alternate and more richly varied than is the case with the Delphian dancers.

[1] Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, 297, text to plate 140.
[2] *Oesterreichische Jahreshefte*, xiii, 1910, 87 f. and plates iii, iv.

From this little copy we certainly get an idea of the Hecate Epipyrgidia of Alcamenes on the Acropolis of Athens, and this shows how much tradition there is in the Delphian group.

There is a still closer Attic parallel in a vase-painting on a Panathenaic Amphora from Eleusis, dated to the year when Charicleides was archon, 363-2 B.C., and so exactly of Praxiteles' period. Here we see a dancing female figure on an acanthus column. The actual idea of placing figures on columns or on high bases, like the Nike of Paeonius, of which a replica stood at Delphi, or on a bronze palm-tree, as a statue of Athena was set up at Delphi in memory of the Athenian victory at the Eurymedon, 466 B.C.,[1] was natural in view of the great accumulation of works of art in the Greek sanctuaries, already mentioned (p. 56); and thus Praxiteles employed it in his statue of Phryne, which, according to the texts, stood "very high," and so probably on a column.

All these considerations have caused Homolle to examine the question whether the Delphian column might not be a replica of a work of Praxiteles famous through literary references, the Caryatids, which were later in the collection of Asinius Pollio at Rome.[2] Of them it is said, "Here there are found Maenads and the female figures, which are called Thyiads and Caryatids." We have already mentioned (p. 18) the Thyiads, the Delphian or, according to other authors, Attic chorus of women, who danced in honour of Dionysus on winter nights on the high plateau of Parnassus.[3] Like them, the Caryatids were originally dancing women, who appeared at feasts of Artemis in the Laconian town of Caryae.[4] From a quotation of a Greek comedian, Lynceus of Samos, it appears that the name Caryatid in its later sense was known in the fourth century B.C. In this fragment a parasite complains that he has had to dine in such a rickety house that throughout the meal he had to hold up his hand like the Caryatids. That is the gesture we find in the Delphian dancers, only with the right hand, instead of the left; but the idea of the collapsing roof, which has to be supported, shows that by Caryatids

[1] Pausanias, x. 15, 4.
[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi. 23.
[3] Perdrizet in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Thyiades.
[4] Pausanias, iv. 16, 9.

are meant the supporting figures, which are known in the sixth century as an architectural element, the female figures of the Siphnian Treasury, as we have seen (p. 103) being the earliest example. The "Caryatids" of the Erechtheion are only called Korai (girls) in the Acropolis inscriptions; but in the fourth century the word is evidently used of supporting figures, and from now on is universally employed, till Vitruvius in Imperial times explains it, as with the acanthus capital, by a pretty legend.[1] Caryae, he says, had formed an alliance with the Persians against their fellow-countrymen, and in consequence, after the victory over the Persians, the Greeks declared war on Caryae, took and destroyed the town and carried away the women as slaves. But they were not content with once for all carrying off the women in triumph, but desired that they should give an everlasting example of slavery, and pay a lasting penalty for the guilt of the town, and so caused the architects to put their portraits in the public buildings bearing the weight of them, so as to remind posterity of the guilt and punishment of the Caryatids.

The story proclaims itself as an invention, in that the little isolated Caryae, the "walnut-town," could not think of opposing the whole of Peloponnesus and conspiring with the Persians, and Herodotus says not a word about it.

Homolle corrects the tradition, supposing that the Spartans, when in 368-7 B.C., in fighting against Arcadians and Messenians, they conquered Caryae, ordered their trophy for the victory from Praxiteles, and told him to decorate it with the dancing women of Caryae. But this is too fanciful a combination, and further has to reckon with the unprovable assumption that the Delphian group is a replica, executed by an artisan, of the group by Praxiteles mentioned by Pliny, just as the Agias statue, which will be treated below, was an equally good contemporary copy in marble of a Lysippian bronze figure.

The nucleus of historical fact in the story of Vitruvius is probably that the women of Caryae, by their charming dances, roused the enthusiasm of artists, like the acanthus plant with its fine leaves, and that they suggested in the

[1] Vitruvius, i. 5.

artists the idea of making the supporting figures no longer stand quietly, but move in the rhythmic dance-step. There was nothing surprising in this, if they carried nothing heavier than a tripod. But the dance movement extended also to the figures supporting an architrave. We have an example of this in a South Italian vase-painting of the fourth century, where Hades and Persephone sit in a temple the roof of which is supported partly by Ionic columns, partly by nude female figures on acanthus columns, whose movements of the right arm remind us of the gesture of the dancing figures (fig. 128). Such a figure was a dancing Caryatid as well as the Delphic women, and the next step was to transfer the name Caryatid to the figures standing at rest and supporting a weight like the Korai of the Erechtheion, and thus the original idea of the dance as motive for the name was destroyed.

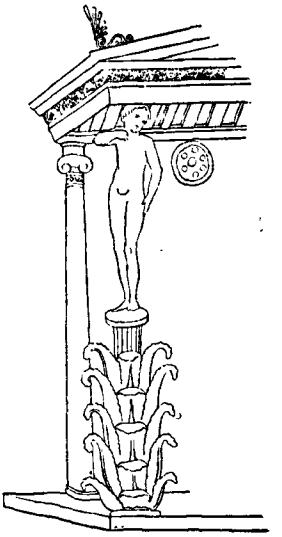


Fig. 128.—Caryatid on vase of Southern Italy (*Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1908, 218, fig. 28).

The cult dances both of the Laconian and Caryatid women have their origin in Asia Minor,[1] and that explains why the Delphian "danseuses" have crowns of rushes. Such crowns are worn by dancing women on a frieze from the Lycian Trysa (Gjölbaschi); and in the religions of Asia Minor, especially in the cult of Cybele, the rush is a sacred symbol. But such religious dances were performed, and such rush crowns worn, by women in other Greek towns, so that one must not describe all dancing women with rush crowns as Lacaenae or Caryatids. Probably it is not rush crowns but simply rush baskets that they carry on their heads, and these most likely contained offerings from the fruits of the year, in Caryae itself probably walnuts. As we saw in Chapter I, Apollo too comes from Asia Minor, and it is a question whether we shall not simply regard the

[1] Valentin Kurt Müller, *Der Polos* (*Berliner Dissertation*, 1915), 28 and 82.

women of the acanthus column as the Delphians who, according to the hymn on the treasury of the Athenians (p. 165), danced in honour of Apollo. These are they of whom Pindar sings[1]: "Round Parnassus' high cliffs the bright-eyed Delphian maidens enter the fleet chorus and sing a sweet song with clear voices." We might conceive of the acanthus column as erected by a Delphian in memory of a victory won by such a dancing chorus, showing over the fleet maidens, whose dancing won the victory, the actual prize of the conflict, the tripod, the sacred symbol of Apollo. But it was evidently an Attic artist of the circle of Praxiteles who executed the work, and therefore it is naturally possible to see in the group a reflex of the famous Praxitelean "Caryatids or Thyiades."

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, v. 27 f. and 82 f.; Pindar, J. E. Sandys, 524, v. 96 f.

XV

THE MONUMENT OF THE THESSALIAN PRINCES; THE STATUE OF AGIAS

THESSALY, the mountain-ringed plain between Pindus and Pelion, Olympus and Othrys, had originally been, according to Greek ideas, a gigantic inland lake, till Poseidon broke an exit to the sea for the river Peneus.[1] In ancient times,[2] as in our own day, during the whole of spring great parts of the plain were like a cauldron of foaming rivers, fed by heavy clouds which broke in constant torrents of rain. While, according to Cicero, no day was so rainy at Syracuse that the sun did not once break through, Thessaly is the land of hard rain in winter and spring. The sun only shows itself in fleeting glimpses, and sucks white vapours from the snow of the heights and the waters of the valley; soon after the air, thick with moisture, becomes close, and the rain starts afresh. No wind rises to drive the clouds away, the moisture is shut in by the firm barriers of the mountains.

But in summer-time great heat scorches the plain, the coarse grass gleams in numerous gradations from light yellow to flickering red, and in deep pits slumber the last remains of the spring's floods, covered by nasty slimy scurf. Then the grassy ground gives a hollow sound under the beat of hoofs, and where the grass does not bind, the summer wind whirls up clouds of dust. Only up on Pelion are the oak-woods cool, and up here among the murmuring springs

[1] Herodotus, vii. 129.

[2] Strabo, p. 430.

hunting on horseback can go on, like the winter hunts for wolf and boar in the plain; for the slopes are not too steep for a practised rider to guide his horse over precipices and through copses.

Thessaly was the land of quick riders and fiery steeds, of wild hunts and big domains. Noble estate-owners had divided the land between them, and cultivated it with countless slaves, and the riches they won by the export of corn and thralls they enjoyed with the fresh *joie de vivre* of country squires. They recognized the Hellenic spiritual life on the south side of the mountains, they invited poets and singers to beautify and glorify their lordly lives; they met at the great festivals of Olympia, Delphi, and Nemea, and took part in the chariot-race, or showed, in boxing and wrestling, the strength with which the free life on horseback and in the chase had endued them. In the fourth century some Thessalian landowners visited Athens, not only to amuse themselves with the prettiest hetairai of all Greece, or taste in the company of a Hypereides of the latest fish-dishes, but also to share in the strange new wisdom which flourished in the circles of the Sophists or the pupils of Socrates. We can trace the sarcasm of cultivated Athenians at their expense in the *Meno* of Plato, where Socrates at the beginning of the dialogue addresses the young Thessalian: "Formerly, Meno, the Thessalians were respected and admired by the Greeks for their riding and riches. But now they are so, it seems to me, for their wisdom. You can thank Gorgias for that. He went to Larissa, and excited admiration for his wisdom in the chief of the Aleuadae, to whom your admirer, Aristippus, belongs, and in the rest of the Thessalians. . . . While there has been in Athens a kind of drought of wisdom, wisdom seems to have migrated from here to you."

Of the participation of the Thessalian nobility in Greek festal life and sport in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., we have a witness at Delphi in the great monument, the base of which was found in a rectangular building north of the tripods of the Syracusan princes (see plan, fig. 7). The building, a roofed house, open to south in its full length, contains a pedestal of limestone blocks 11·50 metres in

length (fig. 129), on the top of which the deep footprints of nine statues are visible (fig. 130), while the front bears a series of inscriptions as a textual explanation of each figure. The inscriptions tell us that it was a family monument founded by the Thessalian tetrarch Daochus, and contained portraits of him and his son with their ancestors up to the beginning of the fifth century, i.e. for about 150 years. Thus we have a typical specimen of Thessalian pride of race.[1]

The founder, Daochus II, in the epigram under his statue is designated as Tetrarch of the Thessalians and as Hieromnemon, member of the Amphictyonic Council. He was of old nobility in the town of Pharsalus, and is

Fig. 129.—Ruins of the Thessalian monument.

named in Demosthenes, with the traitors to the Greek cause among the great men who were won over or bribed by Philip of Macedon.[2] In the accounts of the Temple (p. 146) he is named several times. In 339 B.C. he became Hieromnemon, and was one of the two representatives of Philip in the Amphictyonic Council, and at this time must have been a powerful man in Delphi. His Thessalian power dates from 344-3 B.C., when Philip subdued Thessaly and divided the country among four vassal princes, of whom Daochus was one; and even before that he was certainly the first man of his native town. After

[1] Homolle, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxiii, 1899, 421 f.; *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plates 63-8; Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes*, 196 f.; Gardiner and Smith, *American Journal of Archaeology*, xiii, 1909, 446 f.; Wolters, *Sitzungsberichte der bayr. Akad.*, 1913, 4th Abh., 40 f.; Lechat, *Revue des études anciennes*, xvi, 1914, 284; Dittenberger *Sylloge*, 274.

[2] *De Corona*, 295.

Philip's death he continued to represent Alexander the Great at Delphi till his death in 334 B.C. It was certainly between 339 and 334, probably in 337, after Philip's victory the year before at Chaeronea, that he dedicated the great monument of his ancestors at Delphi.

Of the marble statues, which were all rather over life-size, some have been found in fairly good preservation, the majority, however, merely as torsos or in still smaller fragments, so that their connexion with the footprints and inscriptions, and therefore their naming, is frequently uncertain. The position and identification of Agias are most

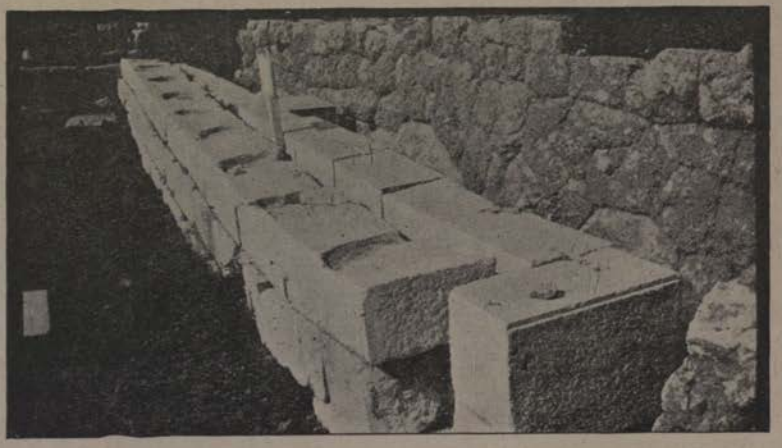


Fig. 130.—Pedestal of the nine statues of the Thessalian monument.

certain, and the remains of Daochus II (No. 7) found on the spot where they stood, and also of Daochus I, may be fixed with certainty. For the identification of the others, their distribution and position, the following criteria may be observed: (1) The site of the find; (2) the common Parian marble; (3) size, style, and technique; (4) costume; (5) form of the plinths and position of the legs. We commence the enumeration of the statues and inscriptions from the right, with the oldest ancestor, who stood on the nearest hollow in the plinth on fig. 130.

I. Of the first figure nothing is left but the trace on the plinth, and there is no inscription to give us information.

From the deeper hollowing of the hole it has been proposed to conclude that a figure in long drapery stood here, and a statue of Athena has been suggested. But no race could trace its genealogy to the virgin goddess, and in Delphic groups, where gods appear with mortals, the figures of gods are always placed in the centre, not in the corner as here, and that is in war monuments, not in a gallery of ancestors. It is therefore more natural to think of the founder of the family, Aparus, who is named in the next inscription.

II. " Acnonius, son of Aparus, Tetrarch of the Thessalians." So runs the inscription about this man, who evidently did not win international fame like later members of the family. The feet and a torso, 1·25 metres high, are preserved (fig. 131). He wears a short chiton down to the knees and a thick cloak, whose folds cross the body in pointed angles, and are finished by a characteristic angle before the centre of the body. The peculiar zigzag movement of the folds is caused by the raising of the right arm, so that the cloak falls down from his shoulders obliquely, and thus the motive of the melody is struck. The execution of the big crackling irregular folds of this torso is considerably better than in the other cloaked figures. Several hands have thus been at work on the group. It deserves to be noticed that neither in this nor any other figure of the monument are found " lying folds," i.e. those produced by the laying away of the cloth when it is not in use ; these, however, appear already in the somewhat older statues of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.

III. Agias, son of Acnonius. We shall return to this statue, the most important of the group.

IV. Telemachus, brother of Agias, and like him, according to the epigram, victor in a like number of contests, and famous because he laid low " the bravest of the Tyrseni." By technical observations of the shape of the plinth, the Americans, Gardiner and Smith, succeeded in identifying the statue of Telemachus with the torso of a nude youth in leaning posture (fig. 132) which Homolle supposed to represent the following person. (The torso of a nude youth which Homolle identified with Telemachus is, according

Fig. 131.—Acnonius, son of Aparus (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate lxvi, left).

to the Americans, later than the fourth century.) To this torso, 1·45 metres in height, was added later part of the left leg. The finely-built young man is leaning on the herm of a god of archaisizing form. The cloak, with big buckle, which falls from his left shoulder and arm over the herm covers it almost entirely, and allows only its head, beard, and shoulder-locks to be seen. The figure stood in the leaning position of Praxiteles' Hermes, with left leg advanced, but not with the foot in continuation of the line of the right foot, as in his "Satyr." Besides, the style is not Praxitelean, even apart from the frigid conventionality of the surface treatment. All is firm and clear, the contours defined, the muscles taut, the forms of the body elastic: it is, as we shall see, more like the Agias statue than the velvety smoothness of the Hermes with all its transitions suppressed. Wolters, without sufficient reason, refuses to connect this torso with the Daochus monument.

V. Agelaus, brother of Agias and Telemachus. In the epigram he is praised as victor in a boys' race at Delphi, and

Fig. 132.—Telemachus, son of Acnonius (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate lxvii).

his statue has been recovered by the Americans and put together out of fragments, of which the torso was discovered in April 1907, while the head had been already found by Homolle, who recognized its connexion with the Daochus group (fig. 133). Both head and torso are severely weathered. The head in expression and formation is like that of Agias. The right arm was raised, and probably supported on a staff. The Greek Keramopulos has found parts of the legs and added them to the torso (fig. 134). It appears that the figure rested firmly on the right leg, while the left was bent.

Fig. 133.—Agelaus, son of Acnonius (Gardiner-Smith, op. cit., fig. 10).

VI. Daochus I, son of Agias. The epigram praises this Pharsalian as ruler of all Thessaly, not by might, but by law, for twenty-seven years, during which the land enjoyed a fruitful peace and great riches. This information makes it possible to date him and his predecessors, for he ruled before 404 B.C., when Lycophron of Pherae made himself lord of all Thessaly, and probably his long reign may be put between 450 and 415 B.C. Thus his father, Agias, and his two brothers move up beyond the middle, and their ancestors to the beginning, of the fifth century. Daochus I is certainly identified with the

cloaked torso with legs encircled by straps (fig. 135). He wears the Thessalian knight's cloak, and he, as Socrates' contemporary, may be regarded as representative of the knightly nobility, of which fun is made in the *Meno*. The execution of the figure is quite that of a stone-mason. The cloak is dry and tiresome, like a board, and the bent left arm under it suggests only a minimum of movement. How the same artistic problem is solved by a prominent contemporary sculptor is shown by the statue of a youthful Ephebus from Tralles in Asia Minor, now in the Museum at Constantinople (fig. 136). In the figure of this lad, who dreamily leans against a pillar, the quiet flatness of the big cloak is everywhere finely emphasized, the movements of the arms give life to the folds, and how charmingly the big fold at the neck frames the fine head, which, as it were, bows under the weight of it! There, also, the breadth of the cloak, like the shadow in Rembrandt's paintings, serves to bring out the "illuminated" form, the strong and sinewy legs, which are elegantly crossed, and the head, with the expressive pits in the cheeks and the swollen athlete ears, which proclaim what a promising little sportsman the boy is (fig. 137).

Fig. 134.—The torso and legs of fig. 133 (op. cit., fig. 16).

VII. Sisyphus I, son of Daochus. He is glorified in the epigram as the warrior who, under Athena's special protection, never retreated before the enemy, and yet was never wounded in battle, from the very hour when he first put on his armour. The statue of Sisyphus I (fig. 138) is

Fig. 135.—Daochus I (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate lxvi, right).

without head and hands, and is 1·66 metres in height. This figure, too, is represented in leaning posture, but the support is, as in the Hermes of Praxiteles, a tree-stump over which the cloak hangs down. He is clad in a short chiton with knotted belt and sword-strap over his breast. The feet bear artistically executed sandals with long straps. The raised arm, too, reminds us of the Hermes, and the more painfully do we feel the slovenly treatment of the marble, especially the slight characterization of the heavy material of the cloak and the finer material of the tunic, which possibly may be attributed to the figure being a copy of a bronze original, but nevertheless is a witness of slight artistic capacity.

VIII. Daochus II, son of Sisyphus I and founder of the monument. The inscription says he dedicated the memorial to Lord Phoebus to honour his family

and country, and names his titles, Tetrarch of the Thessalians and Hieromnemon in Delphi. We have spoken already of his career and power. Only the feet of this statue are preserved.

IX. Sisyphus II, son of Daochus. He has no epigram, evidently because he was a boy, or ephebus. Homolle proposed to identify him with the torso of a nude youth illustrated in plate lxv of vol. iv of the *Fouilles de Delphes*, which is considerably taller than the other statues, and explained the difference in size by assuming that the group originally consisted of only seven statues; but later Sisyphus II was added, and for symmetry's sake the uninscribed Aparus at the other end. But the torso was found 20 metres from the Daochus monument with quite different remains of statues and bases, and the plinth, as the Americans have shown, does not fit the corresponding hole in the base; finally, style and execution proclaim that the figure is of the Roman Imperial period. Probably it is part of a Roman portrait-statue. Later the proper plinth and feet of Sisyphus II were found in the Museum storehouse.

Fig. 136.—Ephebus from Tralles.

The artistic yield of this series of ancestors is not overwhelming. Nine figures stood side by side, without connexion, without composition, without corresponding or contrasting types, costumes, or movements. All modern attempts to force a deeper artistic content or feeling into this soulless juxtaposition may be described as failures. The whole is patchwork, and could be lengthened or short-

ened to taste. Nude and cloaked men alternate, all without special character, without individualization in posture or dress, and without portraiture, to judge from the two heads preserved (Nos. 3 and 5). As with the individual, so with the whole; there is neither connexion nor concentration, whether of artistic or spiritual kind. In the figures the style is borrowed now from Attic, now from Argive art.

Fig. 137.—Head of Ephebus from Tralles.

It is really Thessalian art, certainly a true mirror of the civilization of this knightly nobility, an expensive monument ordered from clever artisans by a noble family, whose artistic requirements would not stimulate their spiritual aims! There is more artistic craving and more pure creative joy in the designs of a red-figured Attic cup than in all this dreary series of Thessalian sportsmen.

There would therefore be no reason for any but professed

Fig. 138.—Sisyphus I, son of Daochus (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate lxv).

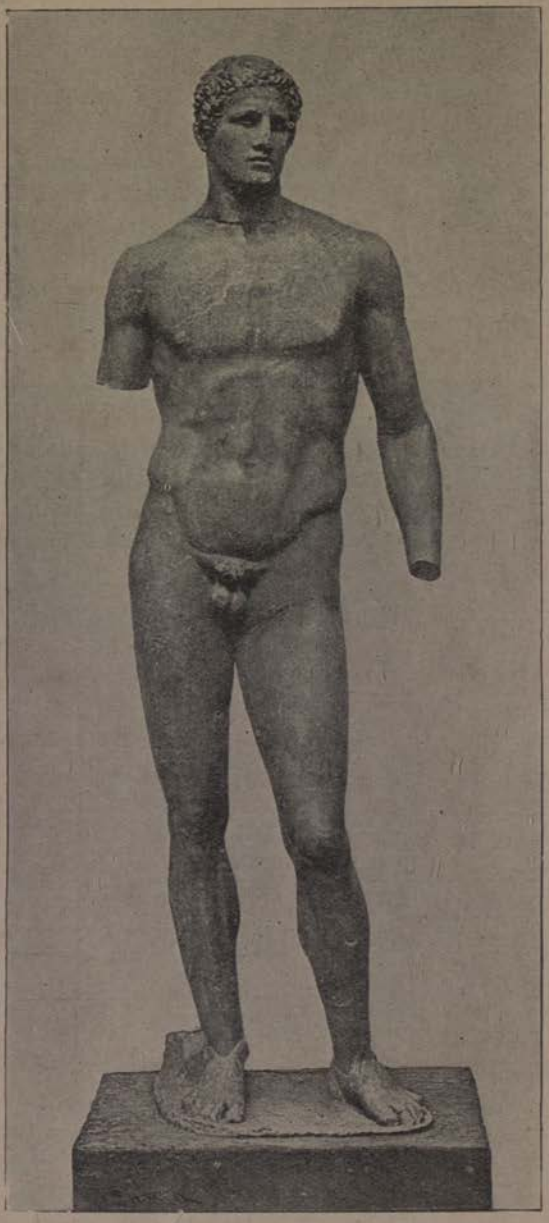


Fig. 139.—Agias.

archaeologists stopping to examine this group, if one figure in its centre did not suddenly and unexpectedly bring us face to face with one of the great masters of Greek art, and with various difficult problems connected with the artistic development of this master.

This is the third figure in the series, Agias, luckily the best preserved of them all (fig. 139). Its plinth was *in situ* on the base, the legs fitted exactly where they were broken, and the two small marble props, which behind reached to the calves and supported the weak parts of the ankles, are found both above and below the fractures in the ankles. Thus the place and name of the statue are certain.

The epigram praises Agias, son

of Acnonius, as the first Thessalian who won the Pancratium (a combination of wrestling and boxing) at Olympia; and, as we have seen, the lifetime of Agias can be fixed in the middle of the fifth century, i.e. about a hundred years before the statue was made. The lists of Olympic victors in the fifth century are preserved, but there are some lacunae in the period 460-440 B.C. where we should expect to find the name of Agias.

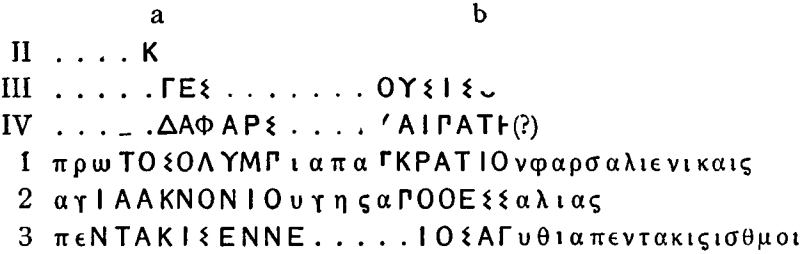
The epigram acquired a new and unexpected interest when a German epigraphist, Erich Preuner,[1] showed that an almost identical replica stood on a base at Agias' native town of Pharsalus. In September 1811 two well-known archaeologists, the German Baron Stackelberg, and the Dane Brondsted, visited Pharsalus, and in Stackelberg's diary of the journey, which is now in the University Library at Dorpat, was an inscription copied from a stone which at the time lay in the stable of the Turkish inn. At the end of the nineteenth century two other archaeologists, the Italian De Sanctis, and the Russian Pridik, travelled in Thessaly, found and copied another fragment of the same inscription, which stood on a fragment of a statue base. These two fragments, copied at an interval of almost a century, have been put together by Preuner, and compared with the epigram of the statue of Agias; so that the original Thessalian inscription has been reconstructed as in fig. 140, where the large letters are those which can be read with certainty in the two copies, while the rest is supplied by help of the Delphic inscription, or by considerations of probability.

There is a slight discrepancy between the Delphic and Pharsalian texts. In the Delphic inscription, it is stated that Agias was victorious "five times at Nemea, thrice in the Pythian, and five times in the Isthmian games." The Pharsalus inscription ran "Five times at Nemea, as often (τόσα) in the Pythian, and five times in the Isthmian games." This divergence of the two was very reasonably explained by Preuner in this way. In his native town, Agias could be without hesitation given his five victories in the Pythian games; but at Delphi they had to tell the truth, and be

[1] *Ein delphisches Weihgeschenk*, Leipzig, 1900 (especially 17 f.).

content with the three that were really his, all the more as Aristotle and Callisthenes just before 340 B.C. had drawn up the learned lists of Pythian victors from the oldest times to their own day (cp. p. 29). In consequence, the Pharsalian statue is older than the monument at Delphi.

Against this view it has been objected by Wolters that the verse is badly constructed in the Pharsalian form, and therefore he proposed to regard it as an awkward revision of the Delphic version, which would thus be the older of the two. But such subtle metrical considerations cannot be proved in a Thessalian epigram for a victor, which need not have been more perfect than much of the statuary



Das delph. Epigr. V.3: μεαιτΡΙξΓΥθια

Fig. 140.—Base inscription from Pharsalus.

ordered by Thessalian nobles; and far more important is the fact that, if the Pharsalus inscription has the priority, the exaggeration of the number is inoffensive boastfulness, and may perhaps even be excused as negligence; whereas if the Pharsalus epigram is put later than the Delphian, and regarded as a modified copy of it, the substitution of the number five for three is a conscious lie, which has no point where, as here, it is a question of a series of victories a century old, the exact number of which Aristotle had just published.

But now we come to the most important point, the conclusion of the Pharsalian inscription. While there is not a single artist's signature in the whole of the Daochus monument at Delphi, the base inscription at Pharsalus informs us

that no less a person than Lysippus, in whom the school of Argos produced the greatest sculptor of the fourth century, executed the statue of Agias. Probably the older statue at Pharsalus was of bronze, the material which Lysippus preferred to use, and the Agias statue at Delphi must be regarded as a contemporary marble copy, executed by a clever mason, but neither by Lysippus himself nor by another of his prominent pupils. Whether the statue at Pharsalus was also one of a gallery of ancestors we do not know, but it is very probable. In a similar way the group of the Macedonian royal family in the Philippeion at Olympia was certainly a replica of that which stood in the old Macedonian capital, Dion.

It must be put down to Homolle's credit that, before the publication of the Pharsalus parallel, immediately after the statue was found, he connected it with the art of Lysippus. This connexion is now certain, and thus the analysis of the figure becomes important.

The statue (fig. 139) is 1·97 metres in height, and well preserved with the exception of the greater part of the right arm and the left hand. Both knees are restored in plaster. The head had been broken off, but fits on exactly.

Here is a nude youth, apparently in the usual contraposto resting firmly on the right leg, while the left is bent at the knee. And yet it is not the quiet εὐρυθμία we know in the Doryphorus of Polycleitus, the chief work of Argive art in the fifth century (fig. 141). There the right leg, on which the weight rests, is like a column, strengthened above the knee by the projecting masses of the thigh muscles which crown the lower leg, and bear witness to the strong pressure this side has to bear, while the left knee bends lightly at an angle, unloaded and free. This scheme runs through the whole body. The pelvis shifts by the right hip up and outwards, by the left down and inwards, and from the pelvis the arched body grows up with all its curves carefully calculated according to the distribution of weight to the legs. Everything is thought out in rhythm and surfaces, as if it were a work of engineering, e.g. the arch of a bridge, and not a living human body, which was the artist's object.[1]

[1] Cp. Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, p. 97.

Fig. 141.—The Doryphorus of Polycleitus.

In the Agias statue (fig. 139) the contraposto between the two halves of the body is in process of giving way to a new contrast between the lower and upper parts of the body. The weight is no longer entirely concentrated on the right side, but we trace in the abdomen the beginning

of a shift to the left. While the lines of the legs lead towards the right side of the figure, from the hip there is a reaction which, however, is not exactly developed in the upper part of the body, but it is, as it were, brought to a standstill by its almost Polycleitan heaviness and quietude.

But the new rhythm appears again in the pose of the head, for this is not, as in the Doryphorus, gently turned and slightly lowered towards the side which bears the weight, but lifted and turned the opposite way, again to the left, in which direction the lines of the hip led. This raising of the head strikes a strange and vigorous note, breaks the centre plan of the body, and brings out the brilliant energy of the figure. Like the posture, the expression is vigorous with a personal life, which gives a real individuality, especially in consequence of the pathos of the countenance.

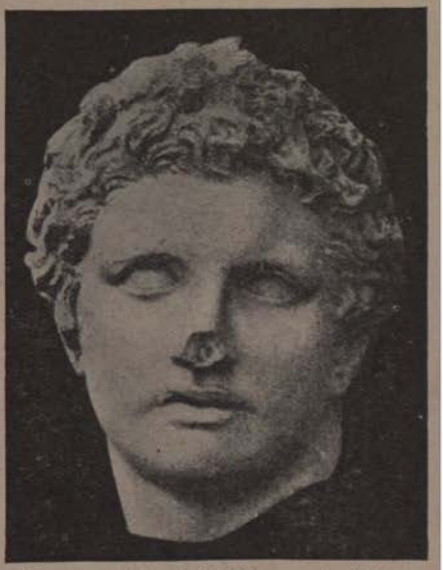


Fig. 142.—Head of Meleager, in Villa Medici, Rome.

This impression is, however, wrong; it is a new style, a more restless type; but still style and type, not the features and aspect of an individual. The master of this new conception of the human form is Scopas. A comparison of the head of Agias with the Scopasian head of Meleager in the Villa Medici (fig. 142) proclaims resemblances in the build of the forehead, eyes, and jaw. Both have a common character in their suggestion of the soul within, produced especially by the passionate expression of the eyes. It was in the rendering of the eye that Scopas completely revolutionized sculpture, by making the cavity of the eye larger, rendering the eyebrow by a high arch with rounded, not as heretofore sharp-edged, contour, making the eyeball small and dome-shaped, and putting it

deep in shadow under an upper eyelid, which on the outside hangs down in a swelling and on the inside disappears in the depth at the root of the nose. The result is that the look bursts forth like lightning from a mysterious darkness. In the head of Agias this fiery look is quenched, the cavity of the eye smaller, the lower eyelid more strongly emphasized at the expense of the upper. Thus more energy than pathos is attained in the expression. One may even call it a look of momentary dejection. There is thus, in spite of dependence, the beginning of a reaction against Scopas, which becomes stronger in the later Lysippian work, the Apoxyomenos. Still later in the Hellenistic age, Scopas' conception of the eye as the form which gives effect ends in mannerism, especially in the Pergamene sculptures, where both the earth goddess in the Pergamene frieze and the " red Marsyas " equally illustrate the phrase Aristophanes uses of one in despair " to stretch the brows like a bow."[1]

The little expressive, slightly open mouth of Agias also reminds us of Scopas, and likewise the whole shape of the head and rendering of the bones (fig. 143). In Meleager and Agias we get a solution of the similar lines in the Polycleitan heads, with their hard collision of lines by the forehead and crown, and the skull becomes rounder and shorter. In the emphasis laid on the bony structure of cheeks and jaws, the head of Agias is more advanced than the heads of Scopas, but here, too, the tradition of Scopas gives the note. Of other details of the head, it may be pointed out that the ear is small and placed too far back, that the hair is roughly blocked out to receive colour, so that the copyist can give us no idea of the treatment of the hair in the original bronze of Lysippus. The head is small for the body: the relation is already 1 : 8, which is exactly the Lysippian proportion.

Dependence on Scopas is also noticeable in the build of the body. There is not that sharp outlining, the clear stylizing of the muscles, which we find in the Doryphorus, where every muscle is a little province to itself, but simplified outlines and clearly marked limits. The skin is not like

[1] Τοξοποιεῖν τὰς ὀφρῦς, Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 8.

Fig. 143.—Head of Agias from Delphi.

a transparent membrane which reveals these details, but it covers and unites, covers details, such as the saw-muscles which Polycleitus had been eager to show, and unites muscles and intersections in numerous cases where Poly-

cleitus had made a sharp division. In this reaction, too, there is a common point with the art of Scopas.

We may put down to the account of this copyist some incorrect details, especially the unsuccessful rendering of the shoulders. The back is quite neglected because the figure had to stand against a back-wall, and was seen only in front view. As the back is equal, if not superior, to the rest of the work in the Apoxyomenos, we may well believe the same to have been the case with the bronze Agias at Pharsalus.

The dependence on Scopas is thus clear, and thus results the conclusion, that the Agias denotes an earlier stage in the art of Lysippus than the famous Apoxyomenos. It is now time to institute a comparison with that work (fig. 144). In its pose we see in full clearness the principle already indicated in the Agias. The lines in the lower part of the body lead towards the left leg, on which, in this case, the weight rests; but about the abdomen there is a sharp reaction, and yet once more the direction of the lines changes. We see where it is tending, back to the right leg, but are uncertain how far the shifting of the weight has already taken place. Thus there appears in the figure that palpitating unrest which makes the observer feel that it is rocking at the hips. The new rhythm is invented, and victoriously accomplished.

In the form of the body of the Apoxyomenos, Lysippus is again in process of bringing out hidden treasures, and approaches the old Argive ideal which is allied to the archaic "delight in telling a story." While the slimness of the body marks an outward sharpening of the contrast with the quadrangular Polycleitan figures, the rendering of detail has again become the watchword; but, as might be expected from a Lysippus, it is the old in quite a new way. The skin, which in the Doryphorus lay like a light veil over the inner structure of the body, seems in the Apoxyomenos still more thin and transparent, and the form is built up from within before our eyes. A few examples will show this more plainly. In the Agias statue (fig. 145) the foot is constructed like the feet of the Hermes of Praxiteles and the Meleager of Scopas; the flesh is delicately rounded under the skin, and sinews and bone cause a slight modulation of the surface. The foot of the Apoxyomenos (fig. 146) is

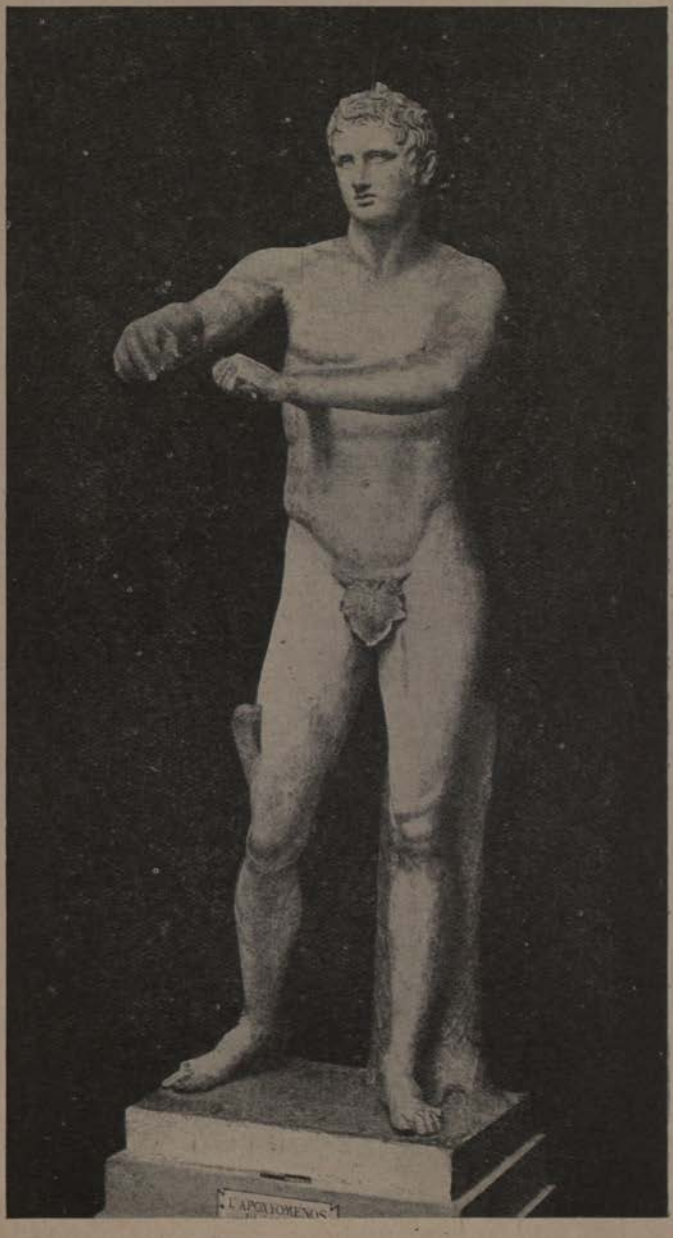


Fig. 144.—The Apoxyomenos of Lysippus.

Fig. 145.—Foot of the Agias.

long and sinewy, mere skin and bones and taut muscles without flesh to soften the transitions.

The same contrast between the two figures is found in the hips. In the Agias statue (fig. 147) soft transitions, in the Apoxyomenos (fig. 148) a sharp and living play of muscle, and, e.g., we see for the first time in Greek art the deep triangular depression between the muscles of the thigh, "sertorius" and "tensor fasciae." The English archaeologist, Percy Gardner, who in a learned article calls attention to these differences,[1] thinks he may draw the conclusion that the Apoxyomenos is posterior to the anatomical researches, which, as we know, began at Alexandria about 300 B.C. and left deep traces in Hellenistic art, especially in the famous Borghesi gladiator of the Louvre. In consequence the Apoxyomenos cannot be a work of Lysippus,

Fig. 146.—Foot of the Apoxyomenos.

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxv, 1905, 235 f.

but must be ascribed to one of his pupils. On the other hand, according to Gardner, the Agias becomes the starting-point for an appreciation of the art of Lysippus. He is right also in calling attention to the contrast in the shape

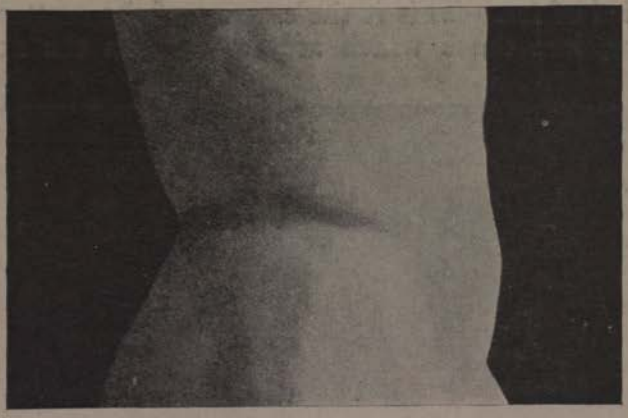


Fig. 147.—Hip of the Agias.

Fig. 148.—Hip of the Apoxyomenos.

and build of the head. In the head of the Apoxyomenos there is none of that Scopasian " terribilitá " of which we still found a reflex in the head of Agias, but all is light and open and gentle (fig. 149). It is as if the interest in the strong expression of countenance had again disappeared,

and all attention were concentrated once more on the body, this body which seems to rock in storm, while there is a calm in the countenance. But Gardner himself admits that the muscles may become prominent, as they are in the Apoxyomenos, in a body which, like that of this figure, is denuded of fat. This is the essence of the matter. Observations, like those which are revealed in the structure

Fig. 149.—Head of Lysippus' Apoxyomenos.

of the Apoxyomenos, may be made in actual life on thin muscular bodies in violent motion. It is not dissection which led to this result, but it is conversely the observation of the fact that muscles, when violently exerted, and only then, come out from the depth as rare and graceful phenomena, which called forth the desire to go yet deeper, and as it were flay out the muscles. This intense desire to go deeper influenced the pupils of Lysippus to go to school with dissecting anatomists.

It is impossible to prescribe the limits of development for a genius like Lysippus, of whose 1,500 famous bronze statues only a fraction is preserved to-day, not in the originals, but in more or less successful marble copies. That, in spite of all divergences, there are common features connecting the Agias and the Apoxyomenos, has rightly been emphasized by good judges in recent times.[1]

The artistic career of Lysippus begins for our inquiries with the year 372 B.C., when he executed the statue of a man who had won the chariot-race at Olympia "both with full-grown horses and with colts." The base of the statue was found in the German excavations, and shows characters of writing agreeing well with this date.[2] The monument of Daochus, as shown above, was erected soon after 340 B.C.; but the original Agias statue at Pharsalus is older, and may well have been produced some years before, in the beginning or middle of the forties.

There is no reason to date it still earlier, for we must start with the assumption that Lysippus was not taken up by the Thessalian nobles, but that they only placed orders with him when his fame was assured and his style well known.

Pliny gives a far later date, 328 B.C., as the culminating-point of his art, probably the time when he executed his most famous portrait, that of Alexander. Even after 320 B.C. Lysippus is active, and executes a great bronze group at Delphi, the lion-hunt of Alexander and Craterus, which was ordered by Craterus, son-in-law of the Macedonian Viceroy Antipater and one of Alexander's old companions in arms, in memory of the fact that during the Asiatic expedition in a hunt he felled a lion which threatened the life of the great king. In gratitude for the escape of both, the group was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi; but as Craterus died in 321 B.C., it was his newly-born son who erected the group in his father's name, exactly as was the case with Hieron's group, erected at Olympia by his son, Deinomenes. Pliny names this among the most famous works of Lysippus; Plutarch says it had two authors, Lysippus and Leochares.[3]

[1] Amelung, in Helbig's *Führer*, 3rd ed., n. 23; Studniczka, *Das Bildnis Menanders*, Leipzig, 1918, 20.

[2] Pausanias, vi. 1, 4.; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, 76.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 64; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 40.

The base of the group has been discovered at Delphi in a chamber to right of the staircase, which north of the temple leads up to the theatre (fig. 150), and the metrical inscription reports that the group was vowed by Craterus, friend of the great Alexander, but only his son performed the vow and dedicated it in memory of the fight with the lion which his father courageously carried through when he followed

Fig. 150.—Block from the base of Lysippus' Lion-group.

King Alexander on his Asiatic expedition; he laid the lion low on the borders of the Nomad Syrians.

In consideration of the son's tender age, it was assumed that the group was erected long after 320, about 300 B.C., but against that are the other dates of the two artists engaged, and there is nothing to prevent us from thinking of the group as erected in the name of the infant son.[1] Anyhow, it is a long life for an artist, of whose outlines we thus catch glimpses, and the Apoxyomenos probably belongs only to its latest period, the twenties of the fourth century.

[1] Perdrizet, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxii, 1898, 566.

In any case Lysippus, at the time when he executed the Agias, was strongly influenced by the art of Scopas, and only in advanced years seems to have experienced the artistic transformation of which the Apoxyomenos bears witness. This is the importance of the Delphic find, that it reveals to us how late this master "found his nature," as Aristotle would say.[1] In this respect he reminds us of a modern sculptor like Meunier, who only at the age of fifty-five became the Meunier the world knows and admires. Homolle conjectures that other figures from the Daochus monument are copies of Lysippus' originals, and the latest found Agelaus figure (fig. 133) might point to that. But so long as most of the figures are headless, all appreciation of them is out of the question, for at this stage of his development Lysippus, like Scopas, showed more individuality in characterizing heads than bodies. Twenty years later, on the threshold of old age, he is a different man. A torso, contemporary with and stylistically akin to the Apoxyomenos, we should without difficulty recognize as his work.[2]

[1] Lysippus was also the author of the bronze group of the Sun-god on his car founded by the Rhodians, the base inscription of which Pomtow thought he had found in Delphi; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 441; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 63. This is, however, incorrect; the lettering is characteristic of the end of the third century, so a century later than Lysippus; Bourguet, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xxxiv, 1911, 458, and *Revue arch.*, 1918, i. 220.

[2] In my description of the Thessalians I have omitted to use the judgment Theopompus passes on them (*Athenaeus*, xii. 527*a*): "They play away their time with dancing women and flute-players, others spend whole days in dice-playing, drinking, or other excesses, and they take more care about filling their board with all manner of meats than in leading an honourable life. But the Pharsalians are the laziest and the most pitiful of them all." Further, he describes how one can win the friendship of the Thessalians by drinking matches with them and by joining in their debaucheries (op. cit., vi. 260*b*). But Theopompus passes similar judgments on the Etruscans, the people of Methymna and other Greek towns, and on Philip of Macedon (*Athenaeus*, xii. 507, *d*, *e*; x. 442*f*–443*a*; iv. 166*f*–167*e*); so he seems to have been a specialist in *chroniques scandaleuses*.

XVI

GREEK PORTRAITS FROM DELPHI

THE hetaira Rhodopis had dedicated to Apollo the tenth of her earnings, viz. the iron spits, which were the usual medium of payment at that date. The hetaira Phryne dedicated her own portrait in gold. In these two votive offerings, of the sixth and fourth centuries respectively, there is a marked contrast. The piety of old days offers what may rejoice the gods. Later times use the offering as a means of self-glorification. From Plutarch's defence of Phryne's offering we learn that the moralists of Imperial times were offended by a prostitute having vowed to set up her portrait in Apollo's pure sanctuary. Any offence that was expressed in Phryne's own age would certainly have been directed rather against the nature of the gift, or perhaps also against a woman trying to assert herself, by a statue and inscription, in the society of kings and generals. For Phryne's advocate could not appeal to the Korai figures on the Acropolis or in other Greek sanctuaries as votive portraits of women. The Korai were not named, much less famous women; in the inscriptions on their bases only the men, whose offerings they presented to Athena, are mentioned. They themselves were as silent as the trains of women who on festal days walked in procession in honour of Athena, whether they were set up in marble, because Athena from ancient times required worship from women, or were compensation for rude primitive human sacrifices, as the newest explanation will have it.[1] Nor could the dedication of a chariot group with the victor and driver on the car be used as justification

[1] Hans Schrader, *Auswahl archaischer Marmorskulpturen im Akropolismuseum*, 2.

of Phryne's statue, for the lord and driver of the chariot had won a victory before the eyes of Apollo in his own Stadion, and the memorial of it, made permanent in bronze, might always delight the god and recall the moment of the festival and victory. But when had Phryne won a victory, or made herself worthy of the god's favour? She had not even, like the scenic artists, who appeared at Delphi and expressed their gratitude for it, given the god one or more valuable days' occupation,[1] as surely as no system of Hierodules was connected with the worship of Apollo. In other words, might anyone, who desired to do so, erect a portrait at Delphi, or in the sanctuary of another god? To answer this question requires a survey of the meaning and object of Greek portraiture.

The three forms under which the Greeks, like the ancient Egyptians, represented the portraits of mortals were the grave statue, the votive statue, and the statue of honour.

Even among the archaic Kouroi grave-statues occur—the best known of them is the "Apollo" of Tenea—which in their nude strength speak of the fine youth who too early became the prey of Hades. There seems to have been a certain dislike of grave-portraits in the archaic and the next following periods, and with that agrees Solon's prohibition against raising herms of the dead on graves.[2] The texts also speak several times of inscriptions on the gravestone of Aeschylus, never of a statue there; and of Sophocles' grave we know that it was adorned with a statue of a Satyr, who wore the mask of a tragic heroine, while no tradition names a statue of the poet himself on the grave.[3] Though grave-reliefs with full-bearded men are not rare by the middle of the fifth century, the grave portrait-statue seems to have been very little employed, and only then in the case of the death of young men. Not till the fourth century do we find old men on Greek stelai.

Nor were the state graves of warriors in the outer Cerameicus adorned with portraits. The memory of heroes was perpetuated only by inscriptions, and even slaves

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 659, 660. [2] Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 65.
[3] *Anthologia Palatina*, vii. 37.

participated in this honour when they had distinguished themselves in battles.[1]

A portrait-statue set up on one of the city's public places was the greatest honour the old democracy could pay a man, and in old days was accorded only to those who won true and imperishable fame.[2] As Pliny strikingly expresses it[3]: "Men were wont (in Greece) only to set up portraits when those represented had, by one or another laudable deed, made themselves deserving of posthumous fame." So the sentiment of Lucretius suited the Greeks better than his own countrymen: "They work themselves to death for the sake of statues and a glorious name"[4]; and thus the destruction of a statue of honour already set up was the severest punishment for unpatriotic behaviour.[5] The rule that only highly meritorious men should be represented by portraits in public places applied certainly also to monuments founded by private individuals, like the poet-statues which Isocrates had set up in a group on the Sacred Way to Eleusis.[6] But the law was most severely enforced for the honourable memorials erected by the state.

"You know, Athenians," says Aeschines,[7] "that the young are educated not merely by gymnastics, going to school and music, but far more by the sight of the public marks of respect."

The marks of honour from a Greek State were wreaths and statues, the first in their perishable nature for lesser services, the latter regarded as "honour and durable memorials" for the greatest benefits. Both are united in a peculiar way in inscriptions[8] with the expression: "The city . . . crowned Cleombrotus with a statue, and with citizenship." It was not, as in Egypt, kings who graciously accorded to their great men such gifts of honour, but they were the gratitude to the great citizen of a whole nation, a sound element in Attic government, calculated to make

[1] Pausanias, i. 29, 2 and 7; Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 378; cp. R. Heinze, *Neue Jahrb. für das klassische Altertum*, 18, 1915, 1 f. [2] Pausanias, i. 2, 4.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 16: "effigies hominum non solebant exprimi nisi aliqua inlustri causa perpetuitatem merentium."

[4] *De rerum natura*, iii. 78: "Intereunt partim statuarum et nominis ergo."

[5] Pausanias, vi. 13, 1. [6] *Vit. X oratorum*, 837, D. [7] Aeschines, iii. 246.

[8] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 358 and 663; cp. Euripides, *Electra*, 873.

"the competent man envied by many"[1] and thereby inciting his fellow-citizens to rivalry, so that each, especially among the young, swore that he would go as far by courage and endurance as the man they saw honoured. Thus the public mark of honour tended to the State's own good. By its warning to obedience it made the citizens better, it filled them with pride at the fame of city and citizen, it woke in their hearts that patriotism which found its noblest expression in the words of Simonides: "To a perfectly happy life belongs this above all, that one's fatherland is honoured."[2]

So in old days honours were sparingly given and seldom misused, and it is more than a rhetorical phrase when Demosthenes and Aeschines, and later Plutarch, describe them as overdone in their own day, and recall the old times when, e.g. after the victory at the Strymon in 476 B.C., the Athenian generals only obtained permission to erect three herms of gods, not portraits of themselves, and in the inscription had to extol the nation and the leaders together, not name them separately.[3] The benefactors of Athens, who in the fourth century were, as a rule, honoured with gold wreaths or statues, in the fifth century had to be content with inscriptions and common wreaths.[4] The gold wreath, which to Pindar had been a curiosity of the golden age,[5] was given by the Athenians in 410-9 to their benefactor, Thrasybulus of Calydon,[6] and somewhat later Alcibiades received it.[7]

But in the time of the Peloponnesian War, the olive-wreath was still a much coveted mark of honour, and only in the fourth century did people become *blasé* with it, because the gold wreath was then granted to all who were crowned "as brave men."[8] In the course of time gold wreaths became constantly more costly, until a law of 302-1 B.C. put a limit to them.[9]

According to Demosthenes (xx. 69, 70), the case with public portrait-statues was that the first who after the Tyrannicides

[1] Bacchylides, ix. 47. [2] Quoted by Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6, 7.
[3] Aeschines, iii. 183 f.; Demosthenes, xx. 112, and xxiii. 196; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 7, 8.
[4] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 117. [5] *Pythia*, x. 40.
[6] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 108, 11. [7] Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 33.
[8] Aeschines, iii. 177 f. and 187; Demosthenes, xxiii. 118; Isocrates, xv. 93, 94.
[9] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 347.

saw his statue erected by the Athenian State was the general Conon, and so far the inscriptions which we have give no cause to reject this statement.[1] Even later the group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in the Agora continued to be something unique. When the Macedonian Asandros, in 314-3 B.C., got permission to have his equestrian statue erected in a public place at Athens, it was expressly provided that it should not be in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tyrannicides.[2]

But in the fourth and following centuries they were not sparing of public statues to men of merit. At Athens they were granted to foreign princes who had made alliances with the city,[3] and to generals who, like Olympiodorus, had won miniature victories, in which only thirteen men fell.[4] It was evidently the same in other Greek cities. In the fourth century Phaselis in Lycia set up on its agora a statue of its citizen, the orator and tragedian Theodectes, though he both worked and died in Athens[5]; and the quite obscure Athenian historian Hegesander, as an inscription on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi states, in the middle of the second century, was honoured with bronze statues by no fewer than twenty-five Greek peoples and cities.[6] The people of Erythrae, who in 394 had set up a gilded bronze statue of the Athenian general Conon, later set up in their agora a bronze statue of the satrap Maussolos, and a stone one of his wife, Artemisia[7]; and when the town of Oreos became indebted to Demosthenes for a talent, and after a war were unable to pay in cash, they offered, instead, to erect a bronze statue to him, which the orator declined, not so much from greed, as Aeschines insinuates, but because he rightly felt that such an honour was not worth much.[8]

Only in Sparta does the old prejudice against portrait-statues seem to have long continued. At least King Agesilaus

[1] Solon himself only got his statue in the fourth century; cp. Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikon.*, i. 37.
[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 320.
[3] In 371 B.C. the Athenian *condottiere* Iphicrates (Dem., xxiii. 130; Paus., i. 24, 17), in the middle of the century the rude Thessalian tyrant Alexander (Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 31); statues in Cerameicus and Agora of Euagoras of Cyprus, of three tyrants of Pontus, of Spartocus King of Bosphorus, etc. (Paus., i. 3, 1; Isocrates, ix. 57; Deinarchus, i. 43; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 370).
[4] Paus., i. 25, 2; 26, 3-4; 29, 13; cp. for other statues, *Vit. X oratorum*, 850, F.
[5] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 17.
[6] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 654.
[7] Idem, *Sylloge*, 126 and 168.
[8] Aeschines, iii. 103, 104.

refused to allow his likeness to be taken,[1] and the only portrait-statues we know of from Sparta are those of the lawgiver Lycurgus,[2] and the poet Alcman.[3] In the Greek sanctuaries the Spartans were less backward, and set up there portraits of their kings, generals,[4] and the Laconian victors in the Olympic games, among them even female prize-winners, nd as a result of this, the victors in the Leonidas-games at Sparta were honoured with statues.[5] But such agonistic portraits and votive statues in sanctuaries were something different from the regular statues of honour, founded for great services to the State. With these last Sparta was always stingy.

In the rest of Hellas, however, the development ran its course, and was gradually affected by the decay of culture and political life. Roman statesmen were flattered by statues of honour, as in their time were Hellenistic princes; and Polybius, the historian, who had been useful in assisting his Arcadian fellow-countrymen as their spokesman to the Roman rulers, was honoured all over Arcadia by statues and pictures.[6] When the Syracusans set up Verres in gold and his son in a bronze statue, of heroic nudity, it was under sheer compulsion,[7] but certainly Alexander the Great never peremptorily requested the Athenians to immortalize his favourite ball-player with a statue. Anyhow, Athens herself bore witness to her own degradation by voluntarily setting up a portrait of a favourite marionette-player in the theatre, where already her great tragedians stood in bronze.[8]

In the Roman republic they went a step farther, in that it became the custom for high officials to set up their statues in the Forum, when they had not been guilty of any transgressions of the law; and this went on till the space was so crowded that the censors had to make a clearance, and

[1] Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 11, 7.
[2] See my article in *Videnskabernes Selskabs Oversigt*, 1913, 396 f.
[3] Paus., iii. 15, 2; perhaps a work of Calamis; cp. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 71; *Anth. Pal.*, vii. 109.
[4] Lysander group at Delphi, p. 207.
[5] Paus., iii. 13, 7; 17, 6; 18, 5; vi. 4, 6.; Kuhnert, *Statue und Ort in ihrem Verhältnis bei den Griechen.*, Leipzig, 1884, 309.
[6] Pausanias, viii. 9, 1; 30, 8; 37, 2; 44, 5; 48, 8.
[7] Cicero, *In Verrem*, iv. 138 and 143.
[8] Athenaeus, i. 19 *a* and *e*.

remove all that had not been erected by decree of the people.[1]

The third group of human representations is that of votive portraits in sanctuaries, and those found at Delphi suggest the question: Could anyone order a likeness of himself from a painter or sculptor with due respect to all legal formalities required on such an occasion,[2] and after friendly negotiations with the priesthood, give it a striking position in a sanctuary?

Ancient sources do not throw much light on the point, but this much is clear, that circumstances differed at different sanctuaries. Pausanias expresses himself most plainly[3]: "On the Acropolis of Athens statues and everything else are anathemata, while at Olympia in the Altis some of the statues are dedicated in honour of the gods, while the statues of victors are given them as rewards for their contests." From other passages in Pausanias it appears that not all the victors who fulfilled the prescribed conditions had their portraits set up at Olympia, and that the cost was not defrayed by the temple treasury, but either by the victor himself or his children,[4] or their native town. As a natural consequence, many a poor victor had to miss his statue of honour,[5] or it was erected only after his death,[6] while more wealthy prize-winners, or grateful and rich cities, permitted themselves the luxury of uniting both victor and trainer in a votive group.[7] Thus the statues of victors at Olympia were half-way between votive statues and statues of honour, for while they were not paid for by the authorities of the place, they were, on the other hand, subjected to their severe censorship.[8] Even if Pliny's statement, that one had to have won three Olympic victories to get the right to set up one's portrait there, is disproved by several certain instances,[9] yet the careful examination and close sifting of claims is tolerably well attested.

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 30; Amm. Marc., xiv. 6, 7.

[2] Of contracts between artists and their patrons see Demosthenes, xviii. 122, and Andocides, *De Alcibiade*, 17.

[3] Pausanias, v. 21, 1; cp. 25, 1.

[4] Idem, vi. 1, 1 and 10, 1.

[5] Idem, vi. 8, 3; 14, 6; 17, 4.

[6] Idem, vi. 4, 6.

[7] Idem, vi. 3, 6. The importance of the trainer is seen in Pindar, *Nemea*, vi. 66; *Isthmia*, iv. 71.

[8] Kuhnert, *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, xiv, 1885, 257 and 271 f.

[9] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 16; cp. Xenombrotos' Base, *Inschriften von Olympia*, 170; Paus., vi. 3, 11; 14, 13; vii. 27, 5.

At the Olympic games, as is well known, appeared not only athletes, but others: "for manifold are the forms of human knowledge; one has got wisdom, another the honour of the Charites as gift, and all go forth to the dust of conflict with golden hope."[1] There are examples of no fewer than three generations of the same family winning victories at Olympia in such different ἀρεταί as poetry, music, and wrestling.[2] One is now interested to ask whether the several laws about the erection of statues applied also to intellectual competitors[3]; whether, e.g., the statues of the rhetorician Gorgias and the philosopher Anaximenes, which are named among those erected at Olympia,[4] were the reward of victories won by the recitation of their own works. Tradition is silent on the point, but that a censorship was practised in every case may be inferred from what is said of the statue of the orator Isocrates at Olympia[5]: "Isocrates was not a flute-player like his father, and engaged in no other vulgar occupation, for else he would not have obtained a statue at Olympia."

There was, however, even at Olympia no sharp dividing-line between the votive statue and the statue of honour, and in the other Greek sanctuaries it was obviously very fluid. Generally we get no information from texts and inscriptions. From a base-inscription of Didyma in Asia Minor we learn that a father sets up a statue of his son by the Temple of Apollo after his victory in the games, but whether the victory was won in the Stadion of Apollo's temple, or the erection of the statue was granted by the priests to father and son, is not stated.[6] Similarly we do not know whether the statue of Isocrates erected in the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis and paid for by Timotheus, son of Conon, was only permitted to stand there after an overhauling of the family connexions, like that which took place at Olympia.[7] But one thing is certain: the supervision of votive portraits was not strict. The Acropolis of Athens was so crammed with portraits of the ancestors of

[1] Bacchylides, ix. 38f.
[2] Pindar, *Nemea*, iv.
[3] Plutarch deals with the intellectual contests at Olympia, *Quaest. conviv.*, v, probl. 2.
[4] Paus., vi. 17, 7, and 18, 2.
[5] Philostratus, *Vita Sophist.*, 506; Isocrates' statue was paid for by his stepson, *Vit. X oratorum*, 839, B.
[6] *Inscript. Graec.*, ii. 2888.
[7] *Vit. X oratorum*, 838 D.

wealthy Athenians that, from time to time, a radical clearance was necessary[1]; and the inscribed bases found in Greek sanctuaries that have been excavated give an equally uncomfortable number of portrait-statues of quite unknown persons.[2] In sanctuaries outside Olympia, they were evidently not so particular about the station and character of the proposed recipient of a portrait. We have already spoken of statues of hetairai; they existed in other sanctuaries besides Delphi.[3] In contrast it may be brought forward that Athens refused to erect a statue to a hetaira in the agora, though, by assisting Harmodius and Aristogeiton, she had contributed to the downfall of the tyranny.[4] In sanctuaries not merely could artists erect their portraits in combination with the works of art they supplied,[5] but a priest in Delphi put up a statue of his wife in the Temenos, and dedicated it to the goddess of birth, Eileithyia, and two plain sawyers immortalized themselves in a group, while a grateful youth dedicated a statue of his Thracian nurse.[6] Sometimes one feels as if the priests did everything they could to get the sanctuaries crammed with portrait-statues, and does not therefore wonder that the Athenians employed the votive portrait as a kind of punishment, when the Archons, who broke the laws, were forced to set up gilded statues of themselves at Delphi.[7] Thus the votive portrait was not much held in honour when the defraying of its cost might deter from breach of the laws. At Olympia the punishment of foul play in the games was a fine, out of the proceeds of which were subsequently erected statues of Zeus (Zanes).[8] At Olympia a portrait-statue according to this regulation might be declined as suggestive of punishment.

The circumstances described do not, however, as one might believe, exclude the erection of public statues of honour in sanctuaries. In ancient cities there was a tendency to regard the chief temple as the central point of the city,

[1] *Vit. X oratorum*, 839 D.
[2] Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Imago*, p. 396; *Inscript. Graec.*, ii. 2431; iii. 931, etc.
[3] Lenormant, *Gaz. archéol.*, 1877, 142; Athenaeus, xiii. 591*b*.
[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 72. [5] Idem, xxxiv. 83; Paus., viii. 53, 7.
[6] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 602; Pliny, xxxiv. 57, and xxxv. 70; Furtwängler, *Der Dornauszieher*, 89, n. 30, and 95.
[7] Plato, *Phaedrus*, 235*d*. [8] Paus., v. 26, 6-7.

the " Polis " proper (cp. p. 34), and so inscriptions concerning peace and war and official decrees in honour of individuals were very frequently set up in the neighbourhood of temples. There was the same reason for putting statues of honour in the same place.[1] We regard it as natural when it is the question of a priest like that Ephesian Megabyzus, to whom the inhabitants of Priene erected a statue in front of their temple of Athena.[2] But in the Temenos of Eleusis stood statues of honour for strategi,[3] on the Acropolis of Athens a statue erected by the state in honour of Eumaridas of Cydonia in Crete, who had assisted Athens in a war; moreover, there was a bronze statue of Spartocus, King of Bosphorus, erected in 289 B.C. along with a statue in the agora, and near the Parthenon have been found the bases of the statues of the Athenian generals Conon and Timotheus.[4] The Temenos of Delphi contained a number of statues of honour, erected by the Amphictyons or others.[5] It can easily be understood that the visitors in various cases may have been in doubt whether the portrait figure was in honour of the person or a votive offering. Cicero states that the statue of Gorgias at Delphi, which was " not gilded but really of gold," was erected by the whole of Hellas, but Pliny states that it was placed there by Gorgias himself. The inscription on the base proclaims that it was a votive statue, paid for by a relative of the orator.[6]

There arises a combination of the two when a statue of honour in a sanctuary is dedicated to the god of the temple.[7] In Hellenistic times this is developed further, in that the personage honoured, whose statue is erected not near but in the temple, is made the god's lodger (σύνοικος). With the Romans the custom degenerated so far that the Empress Julia Domna set up her golden portrait-statue in the Parthenon as a pendant to Pheidias' statue of Athena.[8] Themistocles had already had the same idea of putting his

[1] Xenophon, *Hieron*, iv. 5.
[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 282.
[3] Idem, op. cit., 485 and 547.
[4] Idem, op. cit., 152, 370, 535-6; Frazer, *Paus.*, ii. 299.
[5] Idem, op. cit., 607, 616; 621, 625, 628, 630, 632; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, xviii. 226; cp. for the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, *Corpus inscr. graec.*, iv. 1418 f.
[6] Cicero, *De oratore*, 129; Pliny, xxxiii. 83; Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 875*a*.
[7] Dittenberger, op. cit., 319.
[8] Von Premerstein, *Oest. Jahresh.*, xvi, 1913, 260.

statue by that of the goddess in the temple, when he built a temple of Artemis in Melita.[1]

It was, fortunately, the Greek statue of honour which affected decisively the character and development of Greek portraiture. This is seen most clearly in the athlete statues, the object of which is to explain the poet's words: "He fulfilled his course in a manner which corresponded with his physical form."[2] It was the deed that was to be glorified and illustrated, through the vigour of muscles, the harmonious and healthy build of the body, whether it was a slim and elastic body suited to victory in running and jumping, or a "four-square" body, which by its weight could lay opponents in the dust in the Pancratium. What cared posterity for the features of the victor? They only asked how the victory was possible. The desire was to see beauty and strength immortalized for the sake of the State and the youth that should follow in the footsteps of the hero. The deed was to live in the memory, and not the man's wrinkles and warts. This tendency was strengthened by the universal joy of Greek art in the idealization of reality. A statue had to be beautiful in both form and face. Not for nothing have the Greeks two words for external beauty, εὐειδής and εὐπρόσωπος; and even in the time of Demosthenes, in spite of the naturalistic tendencies of the age, the Greek mother, when she played with her little child, used the fond expression, "my little statue."[3]

The craving for beauty dominated everything, life, palaestra, and art in the fifth century. It came out in rendezvous of beauty, in which the handsomest men got prizes for εὐανδρία; with pride the Athenian authors record that at these meetings it was generally their city which conquered.[4] One gets the best impression of the sensuous rapture of the Greeks for the beautiful male body by the introduction to the *Charmides* of Plato, where

[1] Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 222; Parallels in Paus., ix. 4, 2, and Lycurgus, *In Leocratem*, 136.

[2] Sophocles, *Electra*, 686, where Prof. A. C. Pearson conjectures δρόμεν δ' ἰσώσας τῇ φύσει τά τ' ἔργματα (*Class. Quart.*, xiii. 124); cp. *O.C.*, 578.

[3] Demosthenes, xviii. 129; Bekker, *Anecd. graec.*, 394, 29; cp. Plautus, *Epidicus*, 624.

[4] Harpocration and Hesychius, s.v. εὐανδρία; Andocides, *De Alcibiade*, 42; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iii. 3, 12.

a handsome youth makes both old and young go into ecstasies of admiration. Youth was everything, and only his youthful strength and speed could win the favour of the audience for Pindar's grizzled hero, who delivered himself from the contempt of the Lemnian women by winning in the hoplite race, and afterwards proudly turning to them and declaring: "Such am I in speed, such are my hands and my heart. Even with young men sometimes grey hairs appear in spite of their youth."[1] Only youth, strength, and beauty make man for a brief hour the fellow of the gods, and art has to preserve this fleeting moment of rejoicing, the statue is to realize the divine man. In Babrius' thirtieth fable two purchasers wrangle in a sculptor's workshop over a marble statue, which one wants to erect as a grave statue of his dead son, the other to use as a statue of Hermes. This equalization of god and man, which is also known to us from the Hermes-like youths and bearded fathers with the proud mien of Zeus on Greek sepulchral stelai, is no outcome of arrogance, but a natural way of revealing the dreams of beauty of the period. Art embodies what Homer's fancy had already created: men who are like gods, and gods who are human.

Athlete statues were set up not only in Olympia and other sanctuaries, where victories were won; they were also drawn up in line in the public squares of numerous Greek towns. The sarcastic remark of Alexander the Great at the sight of the athlete figures in Miletus is well known: "Where were all these heroes when the city was fighting to defend itself?" In his speech against Leocrates (51) the Athenian Lycurgus draws this contrast: "With other Greeks you will find athlete statues in the public squares; with you in Athens portraits of competent generals and those who slew the tyrant." He might have added to generals—"poets and wise men of the past,"[2] for by the fourth century Athens and other cities as well began to erect statues of their great men in all departments of intellectual life[3]; and the Ionic cities had certainly begun in the sixth century, to judge by the torso of Anaximander's

[1] Pindar, *Olympia*, iv. 20 f. [2] Statius, *Silvae*, ii. 69.
[3] Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie*, i, *passim*.

statue found at Miletus, and now in the Museum at Berlin, which would scarcely have obtained a place in the Council-chamber of Miletus if it had not represented the philosopher of that name.[1]

Thus a new task was set the portrait artist to perpetuate the memory of the great men of strategy and poetry, and give lustre to the achievement which had raised them above the common herd. With the object of "thinking afresh for each coming day,"[2] which was the honourable token of Greek art, the artists had to seek new expression for the special strength and beauty which were the condition of the victories of intellectual heroes over their rivals. Thus the saying of Democritus had to be the rule of the artist[3]: "Corporeal beauty is animal, if there is no soul underneath," and their object was to express it. With an untranslatable word Plato calls it τὸ ὑψηλόνουν, the lofty content of thought, which made the highest mortals draw near to the gods in a true and manifold meaning, quite different from what bodily strength in its short glow had been able to do. One of the earliest Greek portraits, in which this object is attained, is the portrait of the poet Sophocles as an old man, known by Roman copies, of which that in the British Museum is one of the best (fig. 151). Here the wrinkles of the forehead and the raised lofty brows speak of the intellectual life under the dome of the head. The mere fact that the brows are drawn up does not alone determine the expression; it may in Greek mimicry as well betoken effrontery[4] as wonder or admiration.[5] But it is the proud sweep of the eyebrow line with the modelling of the parts about the eye, especially the cheek just under it with its billowy unrest, which gives the look its strained force and makes the head that of a seer, and thus a precursor of the Socrates head in the Villa Albani, and the famous Greek portrait of Homer. The Greeks would call this head of Sophocles a "pathognomic" portrait, because it renders the impress of the mind in the outward features.

How difficult it was for Greek artists to emancipate them-

[1] Miletus, *Ergebnisse der Ausgr.*, ii. 112; Lippold, *Griech. Porträtstatuen*, 7.
[2] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 433, fr. 158 (Democritus).
[3] Idem, op. cit., 422, fr. 105.
[4] Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 378.
[5] Pollux, *Onomasticon*, iv. 133, 143.

selves from the type and the old conceptions of beauty is shown by the character portrait of the oldest of the great tragedians, Aeschylus, which was erected more than a century

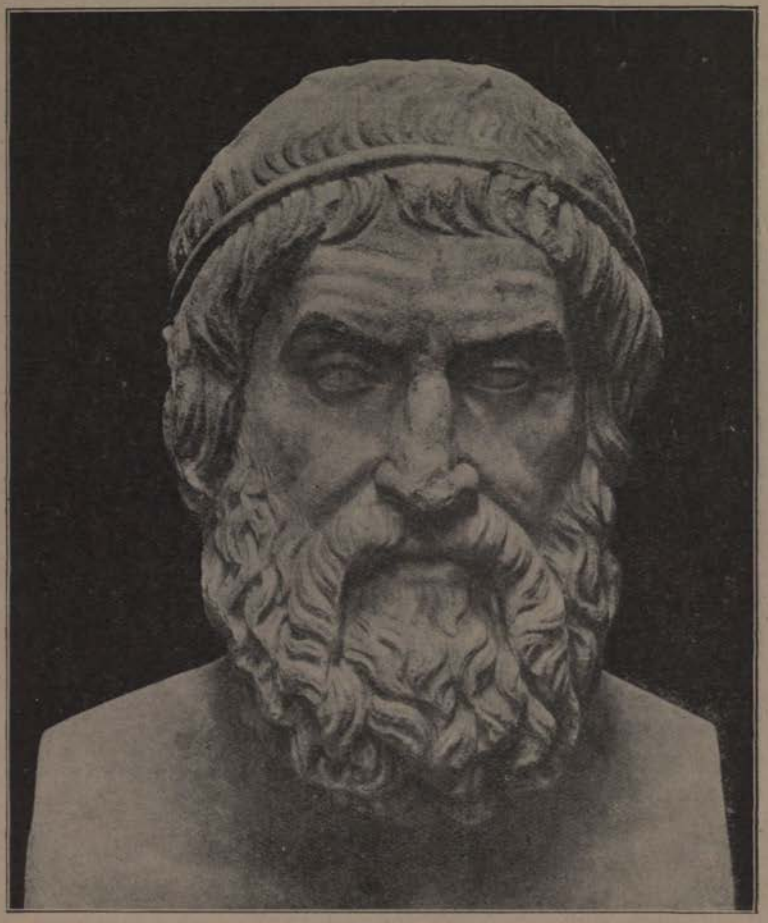


Fig. 151.—Sophocles as an old man (British Museum).

after his death, in the thirties of the fourth century B.C., if the original, to which the numerous copies go back, was really the statue erected in the Athenian theatre by the statesman and orator Lycurgus (fig. 152).[1] Like the Pericles

[1] See for this portrait Lippold, *Griech. Porträtstatuen*, 65, and Arndt-Bruckmann, *Griech. und röm. Portr.*, plates 403-6.

portrait of the fifth century, and like the Sophocles portrait also in the theatre of Lycurgus, of which the best copy is the well-known statue of the Lateran, the portrait of Aeschylus gives only a general conception of the handsome man. The head satisfies the Greek demand for male beauty by big regular features, and by having close curls in hair and beard. He is "woolly-haired" (οὐλόκομος) and "well-bearded" (εὐγένειος); but how far removed he is from the Aeschylus whose poetry still lives, and whom Aristophanes depicts in so masterly a way, the great thunderer with the rolling eyes! To portraits of this kind one may apply the expression of Democritus: "Likenesses fair to behold, so far as clothing and elegance go, but empty of soul."[1]

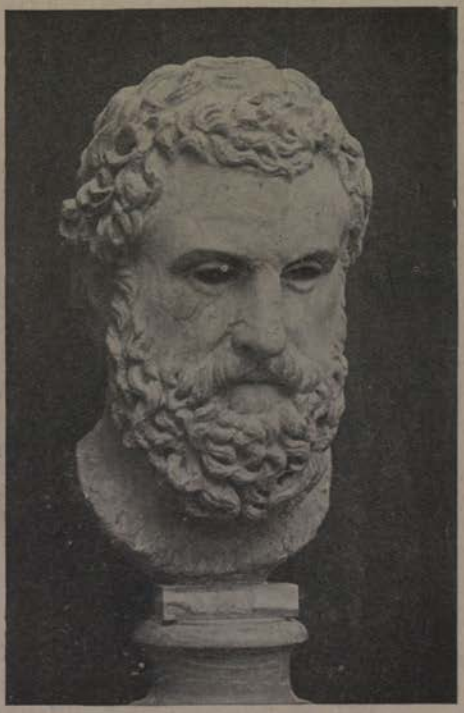


Fig. 152.—Aeschylus (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

Portrait heads on gems of the end of the fifth century give the first examples of individualization, and probably from the same time come the originals of the two earliest naturalistic portraits in Greek art, Thucydides and Euripides.[2] But just as one rests in the conviction that at least the outward features of these two great personalities are preserved in life-like reproduction, one notices that the portrait of Euripides, besides the most widely known "Naples type" (fig. 153), is handed down in a totally different conception in the so-called "Rieti" Euripides of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (fig. 154), the identification of which with the great poet

[1] Diels, op. cit., 442, fr. 195.

[2] Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonogr.*, i. 180.

is proved by the quotation carved on the breast of the herm, and by several replicas. The head is broader and fuller, the beard stronger and wilder, the expression is quite different; not soft resignation, but harsh wrath, is printed on the features and eyes. It is the "laughter-hating" Euripides whom this portrait depicts and immortalizes. So freely is the type constantly remodelled, and Ethos is sought before resemblance.

Even in later portraiture it is rather the expression of the soul than exact physical reproduction at which the sculptor aims. The task of portraiture is strikingly expressed in the preface to the *Imagines* of the younger Philostratus: "He who would rightly master his art must have good insight into human nature, and be in a position to judge tokens of character even in silent people, and to estimate what lies in the 'mixture' of the eyes, and in the Ethos of the eyebrows; in short, in everything that concerns the understanding."

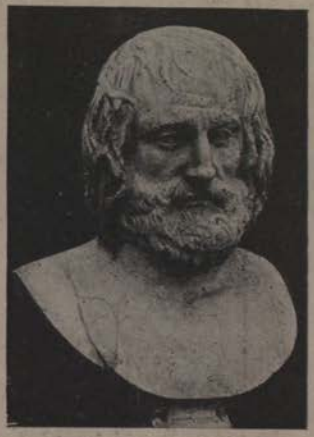


Fig. 153.—Euripides (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

Of these observations, which go back to Aristotle,[1] the expression about the "mixture" of the eyes is specially interesting; the eye is regarded as a wine-bowl of the spirit, in which characteristic peculiarities are blended. Now we understand why the Greek artists concentrated all their energy on the modelling of the eyes and the parts about the eyes.[2] What they attained at their best is shown not only by the head of old Sophocles, but by all the fine series of portraits of Greek thinkers preserved to later times, unfortunately only in Roman "re-creation," in marble copies from the libraries of rich Romans.[3] Their eyes have a richness and depth of expression, varying from

[1] Foerster, *Die Physiognomik der Griechen*, 13; cp. his edition of the physiognomic writings, 305 and 348; *Adeimantios*, i. 4, and ii. 1.

[2] Painters also laid chief weight on the features about the eyes: Plutarch, *Alexander*, i.

[3] Pliny, xxxv. 10. The custom of setting up the portraits of poets in libraries begins in Pergamon and Alexandria.

face to face, with which no art of later times can compare. The interest in the eye and the individuality of the looks was, as a rule, very great with the ancient Greeks. The importance of the eye as containing the soul within is strongly emphasized by rhetoricians and jurists,[1] and in a sepulchral inscription of a Greek physiognomist it is said that he was skilled in reading from the eye the thought within.[2] Even the Greek doctors, when they made a diagnosis of a case, laid far more weight on the expression of the eyes than those of modern times.[3]

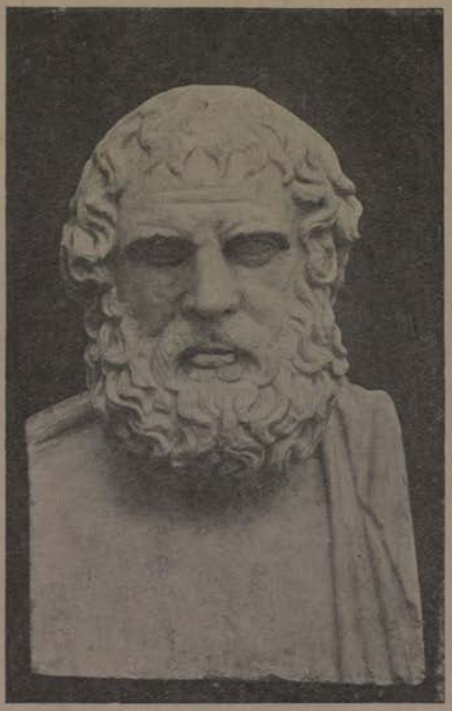


Fig. 154.—Euripides from Rieti (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

One cannot treat of Greek portraits in the fourth century B.C. without at least mentioning the studies in physiognomy, which begin with Aristotle, and, as is known, soon went astray, because from the features of the face the professors of the art inquired not merely into a person's character, but also his future, and carried their subtle investigations both into portraits where there was some sense in them, and into pictures in poetry and art of mythical heroes. In Hellenistic and Roman times it was laid down with perfect seriousness what Heracles and the warriors who fought at Troy looked like, and descriptions of these heroes were given with as much detail as if they were advertisements of runaway slaves.[4] But we must not draw from the later quite stupid physiognomic literature, which alone is pre-

[1] Cicero, *De oratore*, iii. 222; Pseudo-Longinus, *On the Sublime*, 4, 4.
[2] Theocritus, *Epigr.*, 11.
[3] Hippocrates, *Prognostica*, 2.
[4] R. Foerster, op. cit., 18: cp. Pliny, xxxv. 88.

served, any conclusions as to the effect of these investigations on the susceptible artistic minds of the fourth century, when it all was new and fresh.

Of still greater importance for the development of the portrait in the fourth century were the masks of comedy. The finer the character drawing, and the more forcible the individual treatment of characters in Attic comedy, the greater demands were made on the mask-makers.[1] The success of a play might depend on the masks, and later great scholars wrote on the art of the mask and its artists.[2] In this art-production there was required a variation of types of countenance by the stretching of the skin over the features, and the details of cheeks, nose, forehead, and eyes. Only the mouth was shapeless, open like a funnel for sounds. Perhaps it is due to this that interest in the mouth and its surroundings awoke surprisingly late in Greek portraiture.

Even when naturalism won the day and actually beguiled Lysippus' brother, Lysistratus of Sicyon, into taking casts in plaster or wax from the heads of living persons to attain his object the better, viz. a likeness—" before him men endeavoured only to make heads as beautiful as possible "[3]—there is no question of that sober charting of facts which is known in Roman art. Taking of casts is evidently only a help, not a foundation, as little as it was for the Florentine artists of the Renaissance, who, according to Vasari, made progress in their art by the same assistance. Never did the Greek portrait artists fall into the realism which, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus strikingly says,[4] " ends in characterizing small things, veins, hair, and down, and melting art away into such things." Even in the private portrait, to use Isocrates' phrase, " more weight is attached to leaving behind a picture of one's virtue than of one's body." [5] Therefore much is thought of form, and in good portraiture we find a both grand and deep individualization. In spite of their being chiefly preserved in the reflected light of Roman copies, the portraits of ancient Hellas succeeded in awaking in a Rodin admiration and the desire of imitation.

[1] Pollux, *Onomasticon*, iv. 133 f. [2] Foerster, op. cit., 14.
[3] Pliny, xxxv. 153; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1514.
[4] *On the Language of Demosthenes*, 51. [5] Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 36.

The very slight distinction between the statue of a god and the portrait of a man is noticeable in the Greek language. The Greek word for the statue of a god is ἄγαλμα, that for a portrait is εἰκών, i.e. likeness, a word which can also be used of the picture of an animal.[1] In the Delian inscriptions there is a sharp distinction between πίνακες ἀναθεματικοί, paintings of divine representations, and πίνακες εἰκονικοί, portrait paintings[2]; but otherwise in Greek literature from Euripides, who speaks of "Eikones" of Athena and the Titans[3] down to the authors of Imperial times, no slight confusion prevails.[4] What contributed to this was that the Hellenistic rulers both set up "Agalmata" of themselves by the side of the gods in temples, and their "Eikones" in public places,[5] and that sometimes, like Ptolemy V of Egypt, they describe themselves as "the god's living image."[6] In Imperial times the word "eikon" passes into the meaning "bust," for which there was the more expressive word προτομή,[7] and is contrasted with the full-length statue ἀνδριάς or εἰκὼν τελεία. It is very commonly used of the emperor-busts on the legionary standards.[8] A marine saved from drowning sends his "Eikonion" to his family at home, as our soldiers their photograph.[9] But in its old meaning "portrait" the word lives on in the icon of Greek saints, which, as ideal portraits of departed great men of religion, denote a direct continuation of ancient portrait-painting, whose noblest task was to glorify the great dead.[10]

That the development of Greek portraiture thus sketched does not give a section of various layers separated from one another by chronology, but that old and new flourish marvellously alongside of one another, is shown by an examination of the memorials of Delphi. Thus the ancestor figures

[1] Aeschylus, *Septem*, 559 : cp. Paus., viii. 42, 4.
[2] R. Vallois, *Mélanges Holleaux*, 290.
[3] Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 223.
[4] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (vii. 72) says : "Eikones of the gods" : cp. Paus., ii. 32, 1 and 4; iii. 11, 8, and 19, 5; v. 26, 2; ix. 35, 6 and 7; 38, 5; x. 1, 10; 7, 1; 10, 5; 17, 1; 18, 7. The daughters of Pelias have Eikones (viii. 11, 3), also the nurse of the Muses; but the Muses have Agalmata (ix. 29, 5, and 30, 1) : cp. Schubart, *Philologus*, xxiv, 1866, 561-87.
[5] Dittenberger, *Orientis graecae inscriptiones*, 332.
[6] Paus., x. 19, 3.
[7] Hesychius, s.v.
[8] Herodian, vii. 5, 8, and viii. 5, 9.
[9] R. Helbing, *Auswahl aus griech. Papyri*, 101 and 105.
[10] O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, 308.

of the Daochus monument, which we have seen to belong to the thirties of the fourth century, are purely athletic types without the slightest individualism. Not only the two heads preserved show this, but also the completely conventional torsos. Regarded as "Eikones," these figures are on the same level with the charioteer and the Delphic Twins, respectively one and two centuries older. It is certainly for no other reason than that the statue of Phryne by Praxiteles was a type, not a "face," that archaeologists, in spite of all efforts, have not been able to point to any certain copy of this famous work, which perhaps is hidden in this or that figure of "Aphrodite," which might just as well represent the goddess of love as one of her servants.[1] For if it was only late that Greek art gave men a special differentiation of countenance, the figure of woman persisted in being only typical. This is shown by the female figures in grave-reliefs, and is confirmed by the few Greek female portraits, among which, so far as great celebrities are concerned, we seek in vain for character pictures which may compare with the poetry of a Sappho, the fame of a Corinna or Telesilla,[2] or the importance in their sect of one of the celebrated Pythagorean women.[3] And if one examines the contemporary portraits of Hellenistic princesses or unknown women,[4] the result is only meagre. We must go down into Roman times before art shows us the female face alternating from beauty to the foulest ugliness, from stupidity to wideawake prudence. It would, however, be wrong to conclude from this that the Greek woman was an unintelligent and despised creature. "In a fatherless house the woman has the mind of a man," says Sophocles[5]; and Lysias, in one of his speeches, describes what a body of Athenian citizens condemned to death by their political opponents determine to do when they are preparing to die: "They sent messages from prison, one to his sister, another to his mother, a third to his wife, to give them the last kiss, and acquaint them with the dispositions they

[1] Fr. Poulsen, *Monuments Piot*, xxi, 1913, "On portraits of Hyperides and Phryne."
[2] Paus., ii, 20, 7, and ix. 22, 3; Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikon.*, i.
[3] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 279 (= *Iamblichos*, v. 267).
[4] R. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, plate 28; Arndt-Bruckmann, *Porträts*, 531-40.
[5] Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 73, 54.

Fig. 155.—Portrait-statue of an old man (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate lxix).

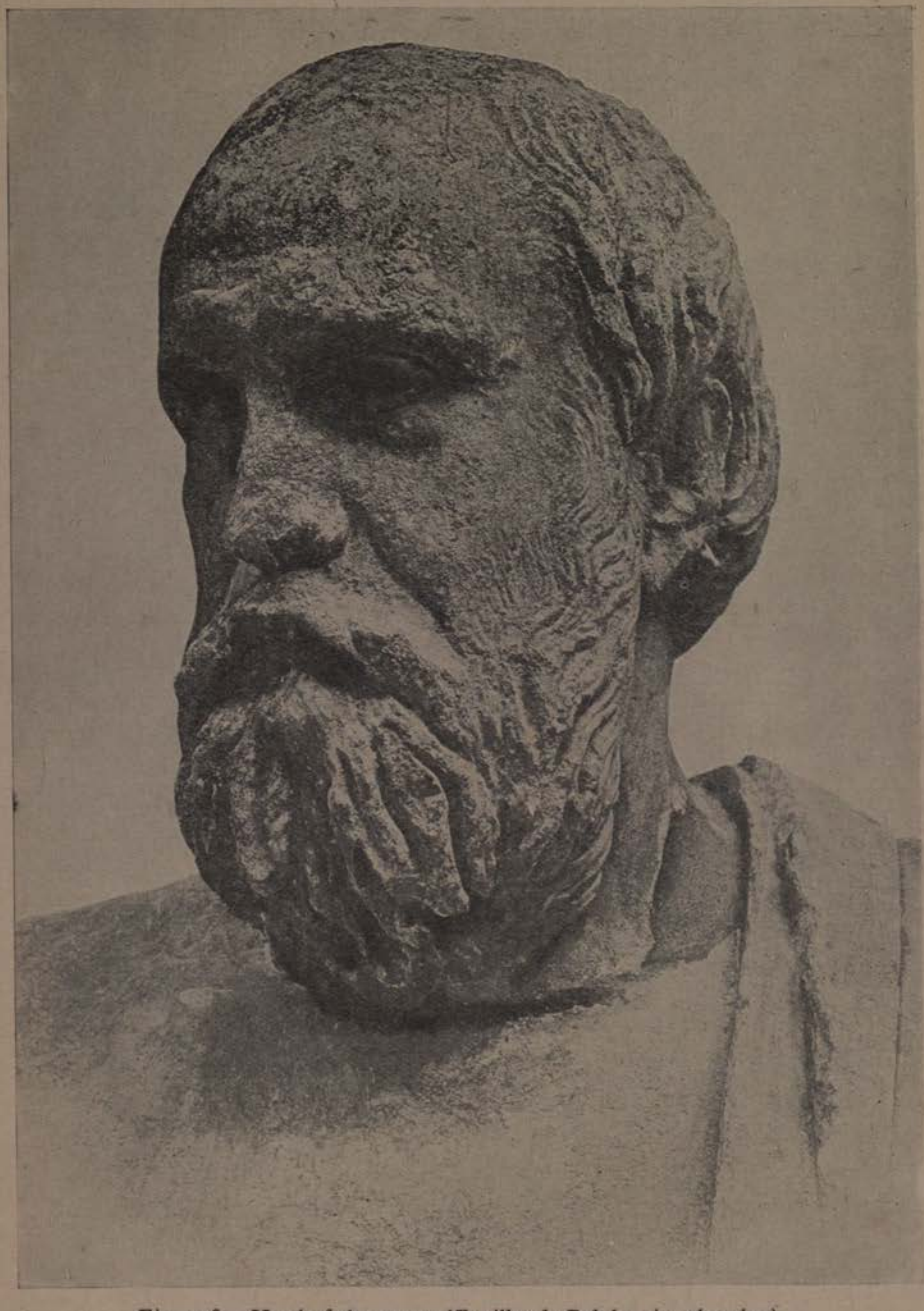


Fig. 156.—Head of the statue (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate lxx).

desired to be taken."[1] Even these strong and masterful men called on women at the hour of death, and so it is one sees on grave stelai man and woman joining hands and gazing at each other.

Among the Greek portraits found at Delphi, the marble statue of an old man takes the first place (fig. 155). The figure is rather over life-size, clad in a cloak (himation) which, with one end thrown over the left shoulder and wound about the lower body and legs, leaves the breast, right shoulder, and arm free. On his feet are fastened pretty sandals with straps. The order of the dress and course of the folds is in agreement with the Greek desire for beauty, but without any special mark. The crossed fold which bounds the epigastrium, and the triangular flap hanging down under it, which breaks and crosses the uniformity of the lines, is simply borrowed from fifth-century sculpture, from a group the best-known representative of which is a figure of Asclepius in the Louvre.[2] But the treatment of folds in the Delphic statue, with the numerous breaks and angles and fine irregularities, proclaims the more naturalistic conception of the drapery and the fourth-century manner, and shows kinship with the Mausoleum sculptures and Greek grave-reliefs of the middle of the fourth century.[3] As little as in the folds and fall of the himation is there in the build of the body any attempt at individual characterization. It is a pretty, vigorous, harmoniously built male body, without trace of the decay of age, an ideal figure like the Sophocles of the Lateran, or Aeschines of Naples.

Only the head shows personal features (fig. 156). First and foremost the cranium is finely individualized with its slender and sharp build under the thin hair, and bears witness to the severe study of the details of bone formation which was a legacy of Greek portraiture from the athletic period that preceded it. Only Rodin has created portrait heads with as masterly individualization of the structure of the crown as that which we find in the best Greek work. Over the brow and root of the nose, the loose skin of the

[1] *Agorat*, 39. Thus Socrates' behaviour in the *Phaedo*, when he has Xanthippe and the women removed before his death, is the exception, not the rule.

[2] Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, 99, fig. 53.

[3] Lippold, *Griech. Porträtstatuen*, 46 and 99.

forehead draws together in knots and wrinkles. The eyes lie beneath in deep shadow, and their "mixture" is conditioned by the strongly folded upper, and the flaccid deeply-edged lower eyelids. The glance is veiled in slight melancholy, and its effect is brought out by the deep, slightly rounded fold of the cheek from the nostril to the corner of the mouth. There is noble sadness, high and severe seriousness in this head of an old man.

Fig. 157.—Bronze statuette in New York.

In spite of the deep boring in the locks of hair and beard, and in spite of the tree-stump as a prop on the left side, the statue is certainly a Greek original. The freshness of treatment of the body and folds bear witness to this. The long beard denotes the figure as philosopher or priest; for when this statue was erected, after the middle of the fourth century, the secular fashion in beards was different: a short rough full beard or, for circles influenced by the associates of Alexander the Great, complete absence of beard. Perhaps it is a character-portrait of one of the great philosophers of old, e.g. Pythagoras, whom the priests of Delphi sought to connect with the Oracle. Perhaps simply one of the "prophets" of the

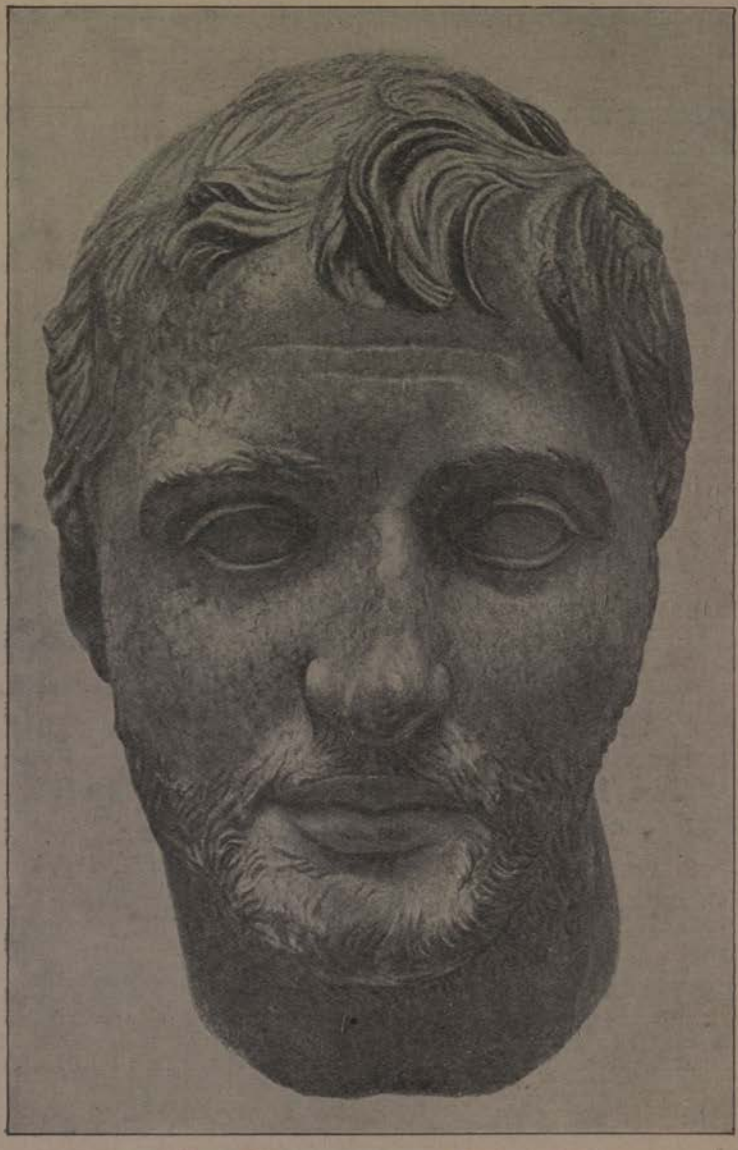


Fig. 158.—Greek portrait from Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate lxxiii).

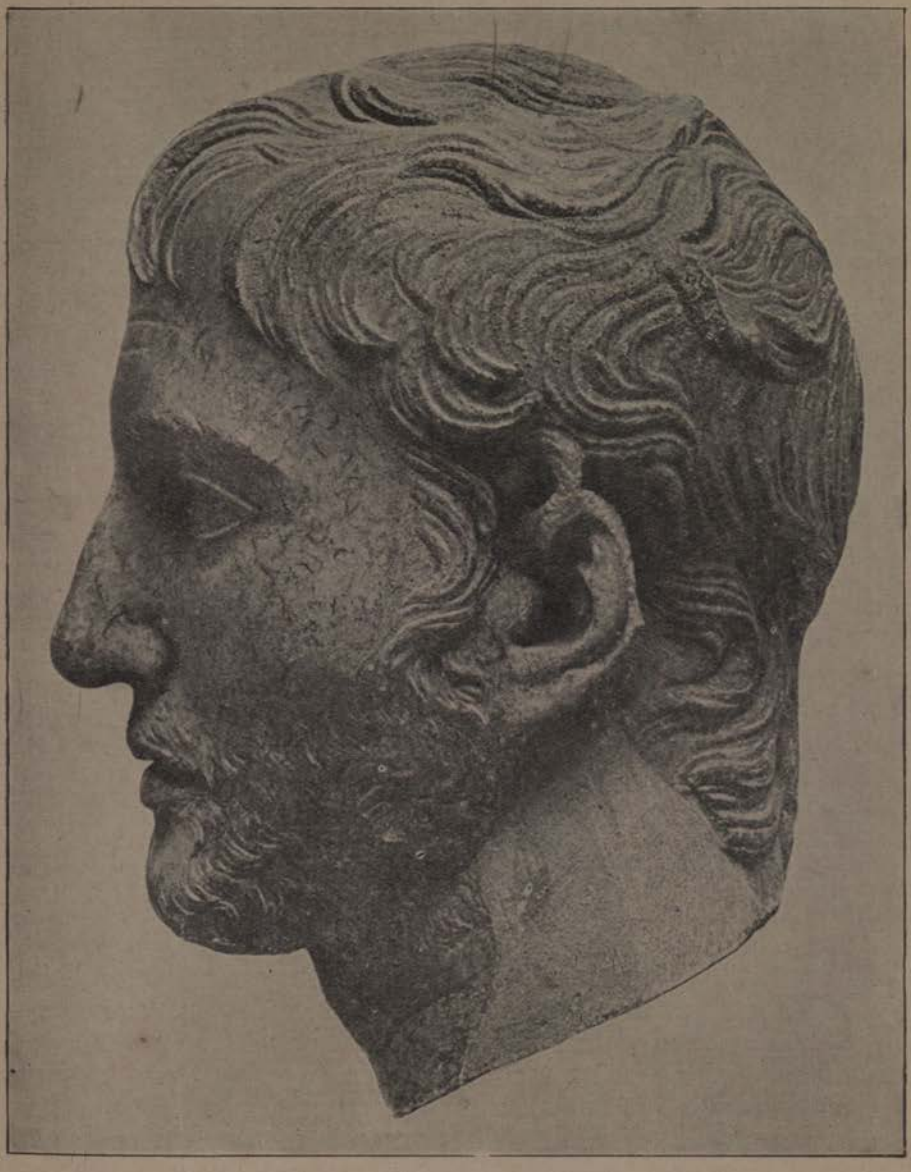


Fig. 159.—Side view of the same.

Oracle, a wise and silent guardian of the sanctity of the godhead.

Even yet Greek portraiture has not finished its course and reached its goal. Still the head shows plainly its kinship with the prevalent heads of old men on sepulchral stelai, and the body is a pure and unadulterated type. But with this figure as starting-point, we understand the full meaning of the statue of Demosthenes by Polyeuctus, a full half-century later, with its face furrowed by the anxieties and struggles of a whole life, a figure in which nothing was traditional, but every form and fold contributed to fixing the character of the whole.[1] Only in the portraiture of Hellenistic times do we see the full consequences of the physiognomic studies of the fourth century, which had examined not merely the face, but the whole form, from neck and shoulder-blade down to shin-bone and feet, as equally important for the character they sought to depict.[2] How a figure which gave a programme of this new leaning looked is perhaps best illustrated by a comical bronze statuette at New York, which certainly represents a Cynic philosopher (fig. 157). The droll little fellow is put down and rendered feature for feature, as he was in life, with the loose breast, sloping shoulders, restless swing of folds, swaying right arm, and thin legs uglily set on his feet. In this figure there is far more individual treatment in the body than in the head, and this is nothing unique in Greek portraiture.

Fig. 160.—Head of an athlete in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

From the last part of the fourth century comes a marble head, found at the beginning of the Sacred Way, and probably detached from a portrait-statue which may have stood on one of the terraces above (figs. 158 and 159).[3] Its technique and treatment of form certainly allow of its being a Greek original. The trimming of the beard is what we know from the portraits of Aristotle and Demosthenes,

[1] F. Poulsen, *Revue Archéol.*, 1917, vi. 328 f. (the portrait of Demosthenes).
[2] Cp. the Greek physiognomist *Adeimantius*, ii. 1 (Foerster, i. 348).
[3] Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes*, 48.

Fig. 162.—Same in profile.

Fig. 161.—Bust from Catajo.
(*Oesterreichische Jahreshefte*, xii, 1909, plate viii.)

and the fall of the hair—particularly that over the forehead—calls to mind most the portrait of Menander. Thus the head is dated, and we notice in the careful rendering of wrinkles and skin, in the fixing of the small accidental details, an effect of that naturalism which impelled Lysistratus of Sicyon to take casts from the living form so as

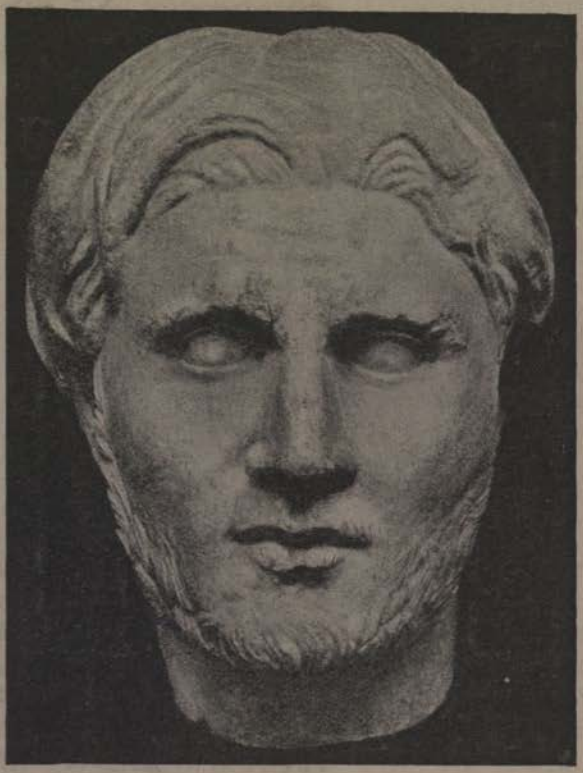


Fig. 163.—Head from Museo delle Terme, Rome.

to be better able to investigate its moods. The Delphian head has a narrow, lofty, slightly-edged forehead, big thoughtful eyes, placed far apart, a strong, arched, slightly crooked nose, and a thick-lipped mouth, the centre-line of which is at an angle with the axis of the eyes, and in spite of its breadth is weak in expression.

Portraiture has thus finally learnt how to "mix" the

characteristics of the mouth. For it is the mouth more than anything else which gives this face a resigned, almost apathetic expression. To understand what in this head is typical of the time, and what is individual, we must compare it with other contemporary portraits, with an athlete head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (fig. 160), where the expression is more directly sorrowful, and with the fine bust from Catajo, formerly in the Franz-Ferdinand collection at Vienna, in which the seriousness becomes positively a proud contempt of the world (figs. 161, 162).[1] Perhaps a replica, possibly, however, only a nearly-related contemporary portrait, is to be found in the head of the Museum of the Thermae at Rome, the expression of which is a painful stare, while the lips close in gentle melancholy (fig. 163). Common to all these works is the intimate

Fig. 164.—Statue of Antinous found at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, plate lxxx).

[1] Hekler, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, xii, 1909 198 f.

acquaintance with the furrows and disintegration of the skin of the face.

We may regard as a Greek portrait of Roman times the great Delphian statue of Antinous (fig. 164) found in one of the two rooms in the building west of the Temple of Apollo, close to the Peribolos wall. (The identification as house of the Pythia is due to an inscription of Hadrian's time, but is not quite certain.) The marble statue, which is over life-size, is in excellent preservation, but for the loss of the lower arms, and was found standing on its pedestal, but leaning against the back-wall, for by the pressure of the masses of earth it was fractured at the knee-joints.[1] It is one of the most stately statues of Hadrian's favourite in existence, and the surface has a brilliance like that of porcelain, produced by a polishing, which starts in Hadrian's time, and is produced by rubbing with wool dipped in oil and salve, the " Ganosis " often mentioned in literature. The statue, in its blend of lost manhood and mawkish sweetness, is a typical specimen of the spirit of the Hadrianic age. The artist chose for his model a statue of Apollo from the school of Pheidias, known by two copies, one at Rome, found in the Tiber, and one in Cherchel.[2] But while the powerful breast goes beyond the athletic model, the epigastrium is smooth and without muscles, and the oblique muscles of the abdomen and hip muscles are weak, while the long legs are almost feminine in their roundness and softness. In these details it was intended to do honour to the dainty youth, who is further characterized by lack of pubes, by elegant childish curls about his round cheeks, by the small dreamy eyes, the mystical sweetness of the lips and the delicate inclination of the head towards the left shoulder.

In the form of this late-antique god the Hadrianic sculptors sought to reconcile the irreconcilable; as pure classicists they brought to life again the male athlete's vigour of the fifth century, and at the same time they had to represent the prettiness of this Imperial favourite.

A Delphic inscription states that it was a priest of Apollo

[1] Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes*, 219; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1894, 196.

[2] Helbig, *Führer*, 3rd ed., 1336 (with lit.); Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer Sculptur*, 462; Michon in *Monum. Piot*, xxii, 1916, plates vii–ix.

who proposed the introduction of the cult of Antinous at Delphi, and after his death Delphic coins were struck in his memory by order of the Amphictyonic Council. That Delphi, as little as Olympia, where was found a broken statue of Antinous,[1] could resist the wish of the powerful Emperor, is easily intelligible but it is more wonderful that the cult of Antinous at Delphi, to judge by the circumstances of the find, lasted till the downfall of paganism. Modern times find it hard to understand the readiness of ancient peoples to admit mortals among the gods, and in particular cannot believe in the sincerity of feelings towards this Imperial favourite.[2] For it was not in this case a nation which had loved a fair man, as in his time Philip of Croton became a hero because of his beauty; but Antinous was raised from a low origin to the circle of the gods by the order of a ruler. Hadrian based the apotheosis of his beloved on Egyptian religion. Herodotus in his time tells us that those who lost their lives by drowning in the Nile were honoured as sacred corpses where they came to shore, and thus the Emperor justified the admission of Antinous to Olympus after his mysterious disappearance. On the Barberini Obelisk, now standing on the Monte Pincio at Rome, the hieroglyphics relate how the Egyptian gods welcome Antinous into their circle, and how he prays to Harmachis for Hadrian, Sabina, and the whole empire, and begs the Father of the gods for fruitfulness of the Egyptian fields. In the dry Egyptian world of gods he was evidently a young and fresh figure, and at the same time drew closer the connexion between the old religion of the country and the cult of the Imperial house. In the whole heroizing of Antinous there is more expert policy and less love-rapture than one would a priori think.

That belief in Antinous really went down into the broad layers of the Egyptian people is shown by the numerous amulet coins with his image found in Egyptian graves, bored to wear round the neck with a ribbon, or to fasten on a mirror, often even imitated in cheaper lead. Terracotta slabs with his likeness were fastened on Egyptian

[1] *Olympia*, iii, text 218 f.

[2] See G. Blum, *Mélanges de Rome*, xxxiii, 1913, 65 f., and *Journal international d'arch. numismat.*, vi, 1914, 33 f.

sarcophagi as talismans for the dead. Even in the fourth century A.D. Antinous' name constantly appears in inscriptions on wooden mummy cases, and thus gives a sure proof of the strength and permanence of this belief. To the expansion of the belief to the farthest parts of Greece and Asia Minor coins with his image bear witness, which are now known from more than fifty ancient cities. But that he was worshipped even in Hellas, centuries after his death, we learn for the first time from this find at Delphi.

With the Antinous statue the cycle of Greek portraiture is complete; the development finishes, as it began, in abstract divinity. But what a difference between the two athlete types, one from the dawn, the other from the evening, of the development, the strong and pithy Delphic Twins, and the sweet and flaccid Antinous!

XVII

THE SPIRIT OF DELPHI

"SO many and such memorials were in existence at Delphi, which there could be any question of mentioning." With these words Pausanias (x. 32, 1) closes his description of the sanctuary, and leaves it to go farther westwards. We will follow him, as heretofore, with a feeling of some bitterness, when we think how poorly preserved are the memorials we have been permitted to observe, compared with those the Periegete saw. To comfort ourselves by the wonderful mountain scenery of Delphi we mount, to take our leave, to the threshing-floors west of the Temenos, where the inhabitants of Kastri every year at Easter dance with their pretty girls, from this point to cast a last look at the dark olive-groves and light cornfields of the Crisaean Plain. It was this plain which was condemned to lie waste after the Sacred War, as the harbour on the Corinthian Gulf was not to be improved or used except for the service of the temple.

When the Amphissians in the fourth century had cultivated the land against the will of the god, the orator Aeschines, the representative of Athens in the Amphictyonic Council, attacked them, and up here, where the Council-chamber then was situated, delivered a speech,[1] in which he called down vengeance and a curse on their whole life, on houses, cattle-folds, potteries, and the newly-cleansed harbour, and made the Delphians on the next dawn march out with shovels and picks to lay waste the fields, fill up the harbour, and set fire to the houses. The enterprise only partly succeeded, but the desire of giving the land back to the desolation of a curse was plain enough. This memory lives again when

[1] Aeschines, iii. 109 f., and 119-23.

one stands up here face to face with the rich crops of the plain. Here is finally a spot where modern cultivation has taken the place of ancient ignorance, the reverse of what is usually the case in Hellas. As a rule neglect of management of the earth has laid bare the rocky ground of mountain slopes, and rendered it impossible to restore the gardens and vineyards of antiquity. The upland of Delphi is more joyous than when Apollo controlled it, and never more will a screaming fanatic demand that it should be ravaged in honour of the god. What is evil and one-sided in the cult of Delphi is dead and belongs to the world of shadows. That only survives which here was nobly originated in the intellectual and artistic spheres.

If Delphi has earned immortal fame, it is not by the dark speech of the Pythia, nor by the prudent replies of the priests, but by the art it fostered, and especially by the echo of the Oracle's words in the great men, who with eager ears and trembling approached it. What affects us is not the conviction of these men, but their enthusiasm and spiritual voices, filled as they are with lofty mysticism. They asked as we constantly ask, "How can men become good, and come to be like God?" And they replied with hearts full of the words of the Delphic god: "By acting rightly like the gods, and telling the truth."

Thus the spirit of Delphi gives fresh vigour to men of action and thought. More as a counsellor than as a propounder of dark enigmas—so have we defined the working of the Oracle. The counsels it gave, both to individuals and communities, incited to action and enterprise. What could be attained in a human life Heracles had shown; he had become the equal of the gods by efficiency and beneficence. But even if the crown of bliss fell only to demi-gods, and even if no one, neither heroes nor the good, got permission to live two lives and twice to see the light of day, yet to enjoy a life in full truth and unweakened efficiency, and to enter the hospitable chamber of Persephone, before age had maltreated body and soul, was a favour and a happiness which came near to the gods. It is this Greek spirit which can rise to a defiant petition, like that which in the *Iliad* Aias addresses to the King of the gods: "O Father

Zeus! deliver the sons of the Achaeans from the mist of darkness, bring us clear air, and let us see with our eyes. Slay us if thou wilt, so it be but in the light."

The active spirit of the Oracle appears most clearly in the numerous incentives to colonization, the results of the first surplus of vigour in the young Hellenic civilization. That in this task Apollo is the counsellor, guide, and stimulating influence, when the first attempts failed, is the best witness that the spirit of Delphi was in close agreement with that of the young Hellenic nation; and we may believe in a reciprocal influence resulting in richer fruit than is directly stated by the scanty information of tradition. Delphi gave the strong impulses, but did not itself produce the thoughts, which best express the Hellenic conception of life. It is in the works of Greek thinkers that the affirmation of life, which still gives its attractive charm to that youthful period of humanity, is most clearly expressed, and in its most beautiful form in the *Ethics* of Aristotle where he speaks of man's healthiest form of egoism, that which makes the good man prefer a short life in the lively perception of joy, to a long one with weak and drowsy feelings. Rather a single year lead a good and meritorious life, than for many years an even and monotonous one. For success lies not in human dexterities in and for themselves—then one might be happy in a merely vegetable life—but in their application. And since the enjoyments given by thought surpass all others in purity and variety, Aristotle thinks of the life of the gods as uninterrupted activity, guided by the highest insight. But only those of the living beings who have the power of thought and can exercise it get even an inkling of this bliss. Only through the working of the spirit are life and enjoyment so bound up together that we do not know whether we love life for the sake of enjoyment, or enjoyment for the sake of life.[1]

These are the ideas of Delphi transformed into the immortal words of a great genius. Delphi planted in the human mind the invincible yearning for the lofty and supernatural, and Delphi showed to all mankind the way to honourable effort in the arena of life.

[1] Aristotle, *Nicom. Ethics*, ix. 8; x. 5, 6, 8.

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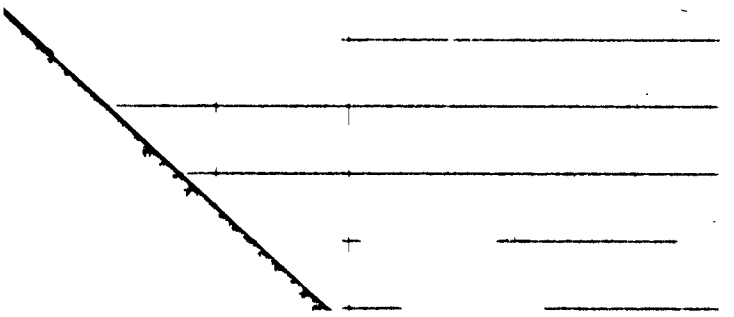

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